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# Maryland Historical Magazine



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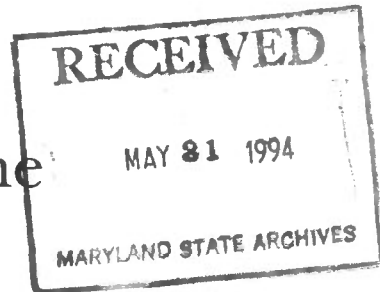
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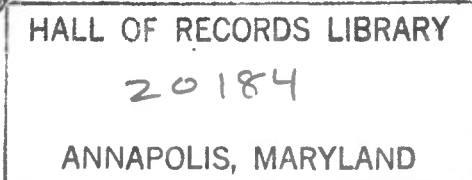
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# Maryland Historical Magazine



VOLUME 88

WINTER 1993



## Special Issue: Maryland in World War II

John R. Breihan, Guest Editor

### CONTENTS

Between Munich and Pearl Harbor: The Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company Gears Up for War, 1938-1941 .....	389
<i>by John R. Breihan</i>	
Wages of War: The Shifting Landscape of Race and Gender in World War II Baltimore .....	420
<i>by Amy Bentley</i>	
Wings over Hagerstown: Experiencing the Second World War in Western Maryland .....	444
<i>by Christopher Shank</i>	
Homefront Heroes: Jitterbugging in Wartime Baltimore .....	462
<i>by Chrystelle Trump Bond</i>	
Book Reviews .....	473
Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, <i>Landmarks of Prince George's County</i> , by David Winfred Gaddy	

Miller and Eaton, *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778–1860*, by Karol A. Schmiegel  
 Dilts and Black, eds., *Baltimore's Cast-Iron Buildings & Architectural Ironwork*, by Robert  
 M. Vogel  
 Roeber, *Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*, by  
 Renate Wilson  
 Johnson, *The Men and the Vision of the Southern Commercial Conventions, 1845–1871*, by  
 Patrick H. Breen  
 Heleniak and Hewitt, eds., *Leadership during the Civil War*, by Brooks D. Simpson  
 Glassie, *The Spirit of Folk Art: The Girard Collection at the Museum of International Folk  
 Art*, by Charles Camp  
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 Duffy, *From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine*, by Robert Hawk  
 Anderson and Wallace, *Genealogical Research in Libraries*, by Joseph C. Maguire, Jr.  
 Feingold, ed., *The Jewish People in America*, by Robert L. Weinberg

Books Received . . . . .	496
Notices . . . . .	497
Maryland Picture Puzzle . . . . .	499
Index to Volume 88 . . . . .	500

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*Editor's Corner:*

All of us owe deep thanks to Prof. John R. Breihan for serving as guest editor of this special issue of the magazine. His teaching duties at Loyola College notwithstanding, Professor Breihan worked closely with the other contributors on text and illustrations alike over the summer and much of the fall. Our readers doubtless will agree that the extra effort has paid rich dividends.

*From the Guest Editor:*

The Maryland experience certainly bore out the usual concept that World War II brought social change to the United States: new opportunities for employment, migration of people to new regions of the country, disruption in the old way of doing business, changes in the old patterns of race and gender relations. But these articles also show that wartime changes caused tensions, and they engendered resistance—largely successful in the case of Hagerstown, less so in Baltimore. Changes that could not be resisted were coped with by, or perhaps channelled into, temporary expedients. There was no social revolution; there was instead the jitterbug.

*John R. Breihan*

*Cover design:* A war worker expresses her resolution while standing before a Martin Model 187 Baltimore bomber. From the *Martin Star*, March 1943.

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A would-be Henry Ford of the aircraft industry, Glenn L. Martin poses with the Martin B-10—the first monoplane bomber in the world—in his factory in Middle River, c. 1935. (The A. Aubrey Bodine Collection, Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)

# Between Munich and Pearl Harbor: The Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company Gears Up for War, 1938-1941

JOHN R. BREIHAN

**T**he enormous expansion of Baltimore's industries during World War II is a familiar story. The arrival of "hillbilly" war workers, new job opportunities for African Americans and women, overcrowded housing, and the construction of new roads and suburbs have all found their way into local folklore. Not so well known is the fact that this expansion did not begin in December, 1941, but nearly three years earlier: launched not by Pearl Harbor but by the Munich crisis. In September 1938 Adolf Hitler threatened to use his new air force to bomb European cities if Germany was not allowed to annex the Czech Sudetenland. The threat was taken seriously. Air raid shelters were dug in London parks; the French government minister in charge of the air force, expecting Paris to be levelled by German bombs, dispatched his wife and children to the country. Britain and France gave in at Munich but afterwards redoubled their efforts at rearmament. "If I had 3,000 or 4,000 planes," observed Premier Daladier of France, "there would have been no Munich."<sup>1</sup> By the end of 1938 a French purchasing commission was shopping in the United States for aviation reinforcements.

Instead of an arsenal of democracy, they found an aircraft industry still in depression. Ranking only forty-fourth among American industries in the value of its products, aircraft manufacture was roughly the same size as the candy and confectionery industry. Although a few American aircraft companies turned profits on commercial airplane sales, most were forced to depend on small orders from a stingy government procurement system or to sell small lots of planes abroad. According to Jacob Vander Meulen, manufacturers developed in response a defensive "political culture." Wary of overexpansion, worried about cost and wage increases, suspicious of government control, inclined to quibble over contract terms, aircraft manufacturers were not temperamentally ready for war production.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, at a time when aircraft technology was changing rapidly, designing high-performance airplanes able to survive in combat posed problems that were extremely difficult to solve. Nor were federal or state governments ready in 1938 to undertake the tasks of industrial coordination and infrastructure expansion that

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Professor Breihan, guest editor of this issue, teaches history at Loyola College. He is working on a book-length study of the Glenn L. Martin Company.

increased production would require. The Europeans' rush to rearm after Munich offered American manufacturers high prices and the volume of production they had long hoped for, but expansion took years to overcome the difficult legacies produced by decades of peace.



Nowhere were the opportunities and problems of expansion more evident than at the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company of Middle River, one of the first plants to be visited by the French purchasing commission. Glenn L. Martin was an aviation pioneer who had been building and selling aircraft since 1909. Like Henry Ford, he aspired to rise from tinkerer to tycoon by means of mass production.<sup>3</sup> In 1929 Martin had built the most modern aircraft factory in the country in Middle River and in it had enhanced his reputation for designing and producing technologically advanced aircraft. The Martin B-10, the world's first modern metal monoplane (one-winged) bomber, won the Collier Trophy for aviation achievement in 1933, and the company's "China Clipper" flying boats began the first trans-Pacific air service in 1935.

The financial record of the company was less happy. Unable after the 1929 crash to refinance the new factory with a stock offering, the company had to seek bankruptcy protection and an emergency loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. After the partial recovery of the stock market allowed the company to sell shares, Martin expanded the factory in 1937. Financial difficulties soon loomed again. Expected airline orders for transoceanic seaplanes dwindled after only four planes had been built. The B-10 was by now obsolete, and the air corps had turned to larger bombers from Boeing and Douglas. Airline orders for transoceanic seaplanes dwindled after only four planes had been built. Martin was left with a succession of small export orders for modernized versions of the B-10, sold to such powers as Siam, China, Argentina, and the Netherlands East Indies. During 1937 the company worked hard to gain a contract from the U.S. Navy for a new flying boat design, the Model 162. A three-eighth-sized flying model of the plane<sup>4</sup> served as an economical alternative to a full-scale prototype, and the company eventually gained a \$5 million contract from the navy for twenty-one PBM patrol bombers. These small orders did not, however, bring the expanded plant up to full capacity. The three thousand or so workers at Middle River turned out only about twelve planes a month. The Martin order book fell from \$17.6 million in 1937 to \$13.9 million for 1938, and company stock fell from \$29 a share when first listed to \$10 late in the year.<sup>5</sup>

Martin nevertheless remained hopeful. The company secured a development contract from the navy for a gigantic flying boat, thus covering the design costs for the sort of large airliner that Martin always wished to produce. What he really looked forward to, however, was another large bomber order from the army air corps. A year earlier he had successfully promoted the idea of a small, fast "attack bomber." Air corps officers, obsessed with acquiring the new B-17 Flying Fortress





When in February, 1939, the French government ordered 215 Model 167s—Martin's new attack bomber prototype—the aircraft maker adopted round-the-clock, three-shift production. Thousands of new workers had to be hired and trained quickly. (Glenn L. Martin Aviation Museum.)

from Boeing, were not interested. But Martin and his chief designer, James S. McDonnell, succeeded in enlisting the support of the secretary of war, Harry Woodring, and the army general staff, who seized upon the attack bomber as a cheaper alternative to the B-17 and one more closely tied to the mission of the ground troops. Pulling rank, they foisted the idea on an unwilling air corps. A competition of prototype planes was scheduled for March, 1939, and Martin expected to win it.<sup>6</sup> If he could receive an order for several hundred of these, Martin told Gen. Henry Arnold, chief of the air corps, he could introduce true mass-production techniques in the Martin factory and deliver up to fifty bombers a month.<sup>7</sup>

President Roosevelt also had the mass production of airplanes in mind. Alarmed by reports Ambassador William Bullitt brought back from Paris, the Roosevelt administration in November, 1938, looked for an immediate expansion of the country's industrial capacity for the production of combat airplanes. Roosevelt's initial idea of ten thousand planes to be built right away met resistance from the service chiefs, who wanted a more "balanced" increase in forces, and by Congress. The president settled for a smaller increase but simultaneously lent his support to

the French purchasing mission that had just arrived in Washington. Productive capacity built up by foreign purchases would be just as useful later on to American preparedness and cheaper for American taxpayers. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau was assigned to assist the French purchasing mission in their shopping trip. He secured clearance for French inspection of the latest American types under development.<sup>8</sup>

When the French arrived in Middle River, they expected to see the export B-10 model still in production; offered a glimpse of the new attack bomber prototype, they became enthusiastic.<sup>9</sup> Its size and performance similar to those of the best French designs for "aviation d'assault," the Martin Model 167 promised a top speed of three hundred miles per hour, a bomb load of twelve hundred pounds, and an armament of six machine guns. Although the Model 167 had not yet made its first flight, Martin optimistically promised that more than a hundred of the planes could be delivered by the end of September, 1939—if the French would meet his terms.

The cost would be high. In order to pay overtime wages for round-the-clock, three-shift production, a premium of 25 percent would be added to the price of each plane. Martin also calculated that another plant addition would be needed to accommodate the new production line; the French were to pay an additional 8.6 percent of the contract price towards plant expansion. The total price came to more than \$18 million, dwarfing Martin's total sales of \$12.4 million in 1938. The French were sufficiently impressed—and desperate—to agree. On 6 February 1939 they signed a contract for 115 Model 167s, with production to begin in June.<sup>10</sup> A few weeks later they took up an option for another one hundred planes to be delivered before the end of 1939, that contract being worth a further \$10.3 million.<sup>11</sup> This brought the total subsidy for plant expansion to more than \$2.4 million.<sup>12</sup>

These gigantic orders began the wartime transformation of Baltimore, and the beginning was immediate. On the evening of Thursday, 5 February, the day before the final signatures on the first French contract, Martin telephoned his architect, Albert Kahn of Detroit. On Friday Kahn and a team of architects and draftsmen arrived in Baltimore on an overnight train and began feverish work on the drawings and estimates. By 2 P.M. Saturday they let excavation and structural steel contracts for the 440,000 square-foot addition. Work began on Monday the ninth, with up to a thousand men working around the clock on the site of the new Building C. Just seventy-seven days later, on 27 April, the addition was complete: the Middle River plant now became the largest single aircraft factory in the United States.<sup>13</sup> Nor was the expansion limited to Middle River. Martin subcontracted various components of the new plane to other local firms, notably Bendix (radio equipment) and Fairchild in Hagerstown (control surfaces).

As the new factory neared completion, the Middle River work force tripled. It grew from 3,639 in January to 7,490 by the onset of full production in June. It topped ten thousand in September and ended 1939 at the incredible level of 12,069. By late spring production began, organized into three shifts working around the clock.<sup>14</sup> The thousands of new production workers had to be hired and trained quickly. Most were unskilled or semi-skilled laborers: late in the year only seventy-

four skilled welders and 182 milling machine operators were on staff. The thirteen hundred riveters and one thousand “assembly helpers,” on the other hand, were trained in a matter of weeks.<sup>15</sup> Martin drew first upon local high school graduates. Since 1937 the company had offered Saturday courses in blueprint training at Baltimore Polytechnic Institute; now courses in layout, drilling, and riveting were set up with Martin Company equipment at the Boys Vocational School.<sup>16</sup>

Other new workers arrived from out of the Baltimore area, refugees from the recession of 1938. The sleepy bayside resort community of Middle River soon began its transformation into a suburban dormitory for the Martin plant. Residents provided rooming-house accommodations for the newcomers, while others found year-round tenants for their summer houses or rented space for trailers. This was the era of “hot bed” roomers, who rented the same bed that other men on different shifts also used.<sup>17</sup> Glenn Martin himself had more extensive ideas, stating that he had always planned to build a “dream village” on the company’s extra acreage around the factory.<sup>18</sup> In August, Stansbury Estates, Inc., with Martin as president, announced an extensive scheme for a “dream city” to house up to ten thousand people on Wilson and Strawberry points.<sup>19</sup> Construction began with twenty-four two-story Tudor-style apartment buildings known as Stansbury Manor. Containing 184 apartments, they went up on an attractive waterside site just across Dark Head Creek from the factory.

This was just the sort of industrial expansion Roosevelt had in mind when promoting foreign sales. The Martin Company itself noted in its annual report that this expansion program in early 1939 “closely approximates the conditions that would face American industry during a wartime emergency.”<sup>20</sup> Glenn L. Martin began to attract national attention as the prototype industrial warrior—as well as for his canny Yankee trading with the French. In May, 1939, he underwent that special American apotheosis, a cover story in *Time* magazine.<sup>21</sup>

Meanwhile, another large order was placed by the U.S. Army Air Corps. It was not, however, for the Model 167. Much to Martin’s surprise, the air corps gave the attack bomber contract to Douglas for its Model DB-7. The Douglas DB-7 embodied a number of innovations omitted from the Martin 167, notably a tricycle (nose-wheel) landing gear and larger, newer engines. Although Martin received as consolation a \$500,000 payment for the 167 prototype, he nevertheless sent bitter complaints to the War Department and to Maryland’s U.S. Senators.<sup>22</sup> It is also apparent that he determined to get even. If new technology was what the air corps wanted, Martin would give it to them.

The rapid expansion of American air power meant still more competitions during the summer of 1939, one of them for a two-engine “medium bomber,” larger and roomier than the attack bomber, carrying a co-pilot and navigator for longer-range missions, more bombs, and a larger array of defensive guns. Like others held that summer, this was to be a “design competition.” There would be no long delay for the construction of prototypes; air corps officials would choose among design specifications submitted on paper. McDonnell by this time having left to found his own aircraft company, Martin put another young designer in charge of the



In 1939 the U.S. Army Air Corps held a competition for a two-engine medium bomber. Martin's futuristic design won hands down, and the air corps ordered 201 of the new B-26s. (Maryland Historical Society.)

company's entry. This was Peyton Magruder, who received the green light to incorporate as much advanced technology as possible in the Martin Model 179. By midsummer Magruder had produced a futuristic, even visionary design. The new plane would have a radically streamlined fuselage in the shape of a perfect tapered cylinder. It would be powered by the latest two-thousand-horsepower Pratt and Whitney R-2800 turbosupercharged engines, driving newly designed four-bladed propellers.<sup>23</sup> Magruder promised a top speed of 392 miles per hour—as fast as contemporary fighter planes.<sup>24</sup> He noted that the specifications included nothing about landing speed or handling, and his design included unusually high wing loadings, which reduced drag. This feature meant an unusually high landing speed of 130 miles per hour (at a time when other planes landed at less than 100), but the new plane would have the nosewheel landing gear that would make it easier for pilots to handle. Magruder also incorporated a number of features designed to speed production. These included the use of spotwelding on interior structures, automobile-style stretch-forming of aluminum sheets, and large aluminum forgings in the wing structure—all designed to reduce the amount of riveting necessary to construct the craft.<sup>25</sup> In the air corps competition among “paper airplanes” held in July, 1939, Magruder's drawings and performance specifications (actually performance promises) won hands down. Given the air corps designation of B-26, his design scored 813.6 points to 673.6 for the next highest competitor. At stake was an order for 385 bombers, to be delivered within the next two years.<sup>26</sup>

At this point Martin flinched. The company president knew from painful experience that if peace were suddenly to prevail, orders would be cancelled, and idle plant space would reduce or even eliminate profits with huge depreciation charges. At a conference of aircraft manufacturers the air corps sponsored that same month, Martin was cautious, declaring that no further additions to plant were necessary for the American aircraft industry. He soon had the chance to live up to his assessment. Despite calls from Magruder and other executives that he “stick his neck out” on the whole order, Martin refused to contract for more than 201 of the 385 new medium bombers.<sup>27</sup> It would take more than a year to design, tool, and prototype test the new B-26, leaving less than a year to build the new planes. Even the expanded factory was not up to that schedule, and Martin resisted further additions.<sup>28</sup> Unlike the French, the air corps did not offer to pay for new plant and equipment or even for overtime labor: Martin offered the B-26 to the air corps for only \$78,682 each, much less than the \$130,000 he was receiving for each of the first French Model 167-Fs. Unwilling to take the risks of overexpansion, he conceded 184 planes to the second-place competitor, North American. The North American plane was designated B-25; it was eventually to be built in even larger numbers than the B-26.<sup>29</sup> Still, at nearly \$16 million, Martin’s order for the B-26 in August, 1939, was the largest single contract ever let by the air corps.<sup>30</sup>

Events were moving very fast. Production of the Model 167-F for France had fallen behind the contract schedule. The first production plane was supposed to fly in June; it was not ready until August.<sup>31</sup> Lacking the range to fly across the Atlantic, the 167-Fs were to be packed into enormous crates and dispatched north to the New York docks on the Pennsylvania Railroad line that lay just to the west of the plant. The first planes to be shipped from the factory, due in July, were ready on 2 September.<sup>32</sup> The next day Britain and France declared war on Germany—triggering an arms embargo under the American Neutrality Act. The French government’s gamble that it could re-equip its air force with modern American planes before the crisis had failed. Martin had missed a critical deadline and was held liable for a penalty of \$948,675 on the first French contract. The French did not, however, give up on Martin. After all, none of their other orders placed, at the beginning of 1939 were ready by the time war broke out, either. In October Martin received a third contract, for 280 improved Model 167-F3s and F4s to be built during the first nine months of 1940. The sum to be paid was a staggering \$31.4 million.<sup>33</sup> Meanwhile, work on the first two orders continued while President Roosevelt sought to have the embargo replaced by a cash and carry law.<sup>34</sup>

When in early November the embargo was lifted, Martin was in full production at the furious pace of forty-five planes a month. The new plant seemed to bear out Martin’s pronouncement earlier in the year that it would be a prototype for wartime industry. In the autumn *Fortune* magazine duly sent a team of reporters to the plant, which they depicted in suitably military images: “a bedlam of riveting now low and deadly like the spray of machine-gun bullets, now rising to a high-pitched scream.” The youth and energy of the Martin workers was particularly impressive.



French 167-Fs in final assembly, autumn, 1939. The day after the first planes left the Martin factory for the New York docks, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. (Baltimore County Public Library.)

Across some 240,000 square feet of floor space, which by night is flooded in the blue-white light of mercury-vapor overheads, there stretches an array of workbenches, of great and small duralumin parts, of human hands and faces. Most of the faces are still young; and many who work here still wear sweaters bearing their high school numerals or insignia. Down one side of the building boys swarm about a line of enormous dural wings; at another point they are bucking up rivets in fuselage and tail assemblies; at a third point they fit controls and instruments (the throttles one observes are marked "ouvert" and "ferme" instead of "open" and "shut") into bulbous dural noses.<sup>35</sup>

Late in 1939 Martin Company stock reached a new high, more than \$45 a share.

Crated 167-Fs were soon enroute across the Atlantic. Rather than attempting to train their crews in the French winter, their new owners sent them to Casablanca in Morocco. The first shipment of 93 planes arrived there on Christmas Day, 1939, aboard a convoy escorted by a battleship and two cruisers.<sup>36</sup> All 215 planes of the first two orders reached Casablanca by early April, 1940. By contrast only 75 of the hundred Douglas attack bombers ordered the previous January had arrived.<sup>37</sup> Glenn Martin was hailed in France as "le Bleriot Americain"; the French flyers called their 167-Fs "Glenns."<sup>38</sup>



Martin ended 1939 as the leading United States warplane manufacturer, but the company's leadership and some of its momentum were lost in 1940. He remained eager for more sales; B-26 production would not begin until early 1941, and the company looked to more export orders to keep the factory busy until then.<sup>39</sup> Treasury officials sponsoring Allied orders were impressed by Martin's "glorious attitude." Attending a meeting with French representatives in January, 1940, he "said he would like to be given an opportunity to prove that American Industry can do it."<sup>40</sup> The two Allies could not, however, immediately agree on what planes to buy. The French favored production of the types they had ordered in 1939; they had paid for their development, and the production lines were already set up. The British, whose immediate need for modern planes was less desperate, were not so enthusiastic. They worried that planes ordered a year earlier would already be obsolete.<sup>41</sup> The RAF considered the Martin 167, for example, underpowered and inconvenient for its crew in that its slim fuselage isolated bombardier, pilot, and gunner in three separate compartments.<sup>42</sup> The British suggested deepening it to provide some means of communication among the crew, and for good measure adding another defensive gunner in the rear of the plane. This would make it heavier, but the extra weight could be compensated for by using more powerful Wright R-2600 engines.<sup>43</sup> The British requirements in fact resulted in a completely different airplane. Smaller than the B-26 but larger than the 167, it was designated by Martin as Model 187. The Allied Purchasing Commission decided to order four hundred of them, half for the RAF and half for the French. But the new design would not be ready for production until early 1941, when its production run would clearly conflict with that of the U.S. Army's B-26.

The air corps was understandably concerned. General Arnold worried that lucrative foreign orders would drive up the price of warplanes for U.S. forces while at the same time giving manufacturers an incentive to delay deliveries. He suggested that no further Allied orders be allowed. President Roosevelt and Secretary Morgenthau at the Treasury, however, saw support for the Allies as even more important than U.S. rearmament. When Arnold shared his worries with a congressional committee, the president assured him that recalcitrant officers could be reassigned to Guam.<sup>44</sup> A compromise was suggested by changes in aircraft technology. Combat experience already showed that both air crew and fuel tanks were especially vulnerable to enemy fire. The most recent French and British aircraft orders had specified protection in the form of armor plate and/or rubberized, self-sealing fuel tanks. The Model 167-F3 was to have armor protection, the 167-F4 self-sealing tanks.<sup>45</sup> U.S. orders placed back before the war began, however, had specified no such features. After prevailing upon the manufacturers to modify planes on order for the army and navy—at no extra cost—the U.S. service chiefs grudgingly agreed to delays in production in favor of the Allies. An agreement with Martin signed in May, 1940, allowed a four-month delay in the delivery of the air corps B-26s but

provided that these planes would now include armor and self-sealing tanks, as well as a new device given considerable attention by Britain: power-driven gun turrets to improve the bomber's defenses against fighter planes. In exchange, Martin obtained permission to sign another lucrative contract with the Allies for the Model 187. This was worth \$44.7 million, nearly three times the value of the B-26 contract; the price per plane was to be \$120,000 as opposed to \$78,682 for each B-26. The Allies also agreed to pay Martin still another million dollars for development costs and new machine tools.<sup>46</sup>

While all this wrangling occupied most of the early months of 1940, Martin's production rate began to slip. With future Allied orders uncertain, Martin laid off workers and cut down on extra shifts. Changing over to producing the new, armored Model 167-F3 cost six weeks' production between February and April. At this point Martin laid off more than twelve hundred men, and employment levels remained moribund for months afterwards. Those laid off included trained young workers like Louis Bertorelli, who had migrated from Massachusetts in November. He headed back north.<sup>47</sup> Construction of the new "dream city" nearby came to a halt. Deliveries during the first six months of 1940 barely exceeded those of the last four months of 1939. Martin stock fell back below \$30 a share.

Final approval for the Model 187 contract did not help matters. Just days before it was signed, German forces invaded France and the Low Countries. Allied armies soon were crumbling before the Blitzkrieg. Four half-trained squadrons of 167-F Glenns were rushed from Casablanca to take part in the battle. Most of the early-production planes still lacked protection for their fuel tanks, and they did suffer a few spectacular aerial explosions. While generally the Glenns had a lower loss rate than other French combat planes,<sup>48</sup> an extra few hundred planes in the battle were not enough to save France. In mid-June Marshal Petain's new government sued for peace. At the last moment before the armistice came into effect, the French members of the Allied Purchasing Commission in the United States signed over to the British all of the French and Allied munitions orders.<sup>49</sup> These included title to sixty-two just completed and nearly finished 167-F3s in the United States and 150 as yet unbuilt 167-F4s.<sup>50</sup> Modifying the planes for the British meant more redesign work. Manuals had to be translated, metric gauges replaced, new radios installed, and British bomb racks substituted for the French. A particularly important alteration had to be made in the flight controls: French throttles were pulled back in order to increase engine revolutions, while British and American flyers were accustomed to pushing them forward.<sup>51</sup> The British named the modified F3 the Maryland Mark I; most of them were shipped across the Atlantic during the Battle of Britain in July and August, 1940. The more extensively improved F4 model, the B4, or Maryland Mark II took much longer to redesign. By September Sir Henry Self of the British Air Commission had to report to London that the Maryland II was six weeks behind schedule, and little time was made up in the succeeding months.<sup>52</sup> No planes at all were delivered between August and November. The British, blaming the delays on Martin, grew increasingly exasperated.





RAF requirements for a plane larger than the French 167s and with a deeper fuselage and room for a second defensive gunner in the rear led in 1940–41 to the Model 187. (Glenn L. Martin Aviation Museum.)

Delays and stagnant employment at Martin were in contrast to the official rhetoric of the times. On 16 May President Roosevelt had called for the expansion of American aircraft production to fifty thousand planes a year. A treasury department study in August singled out Martin for concern as the only aircraft company to report a decline in employment during 1940.<sup>53</sup> Unlike most of the other companies, however, Martin already had orders for full-capacity production; accepting new orders would require another expansion of the plant. Like the other manufacturers, Martin remained leery of overexpansion.<sup>54</sup> Britain, too, might surrender, cancelling all the Allied contracts.<sup>55</sup> Before building new factories, aircraft companies (and the banks that would have to provide them with new capital) insisted upon tax concessions, risk-free cost-plus-fixed-fee contracts, even guarantees that the government repurchase expanded factories.<sup>56</sup>

Even after resistance by New Dealers was overcome, all of these concessions took time to devise and legislate. It was not until October, 1940, that Martin took on new orders for the U.S. armed forces. Government officials clearly were impressed by the company's achievements in rapid production during 1939, for which Martin won the Guggenheim Medal for aeronautical achievement.<sup>57</sup> Once again Martin received the largest order for airplanes ever placed by the government: 930 more B-26s for the air corps.<sup>58</sup> The navy soon ordered another 379 PBMs. All were to be produced by mid-1942; in exchange for a higher price per plane, the production schedule for the original 201 B-26s was again revised, restoring the original delivery target of July, 1941. These schedules necessitated a huge plant expansion. Worried about possible enemy attacks on aircraft factories located along the coasts, and

hoping for collaboration from the automobile industry, the air corps suggested a midwestern site for a new factory. Martin resisted, preferring to keep the company's operations concentrated.<sup>59</sup> Instead, the company signed one of the first contracts under the new Emergency Plant Facilities program for two new factories at Middle River, along with a new airfield. Plant No. 2, 1.2 million square feet in size, would concentrate on B-26 production, while Building D at the original site, 800,000 square feet, would build PBMs. The cost was more than \$24 million.<sup>60</sup> Nor was this all. In November the air corps finally prevailed upon a reluctant Martin to manage still another new factory in the Midwest. This would be built and owned by the government at Fort Crook, outside Omaha, Nebraska. The Omaha plant would build B-26s at a rate of 135 a month, drawing upon the midwestern plants of the Chrysler Corporation for subcontracted parts and assemblies.<sup>61</sup>

In the overheated economy of late 1940, it was impossible to put up the new factories at the same rate as Building C had been built the year before. Not until August and September, 1941, were the new factories at Middle River ready for production; Omaha was not in production until mid-1942. While the new plants went up, all production had to take place in Plant No. 1. What had appeared so impressive in 1939 now was clearly inadequate. During the latter part of 1940 and the first half of 1941 five different projects had to squeeze into the factory: the first 201 B-26s for the air corps, 21 PBMs and the prototype Mars flying boat for the navy, and for the British 150 Maryland IIs and the first Model 187s, which the RAF dubbed the Baltimore. The number of different models was also a burden on Martin's design staff. In October, 1940, the company reported that 274 designers were at work on modifications and design on the two British models: two hundred were assigned to the Mars, 129 were working on the PBM, and ninety were at work on the B-26.<sup>62</sup> The British were especially demanding customers, requesting a number of modifications of the Model 187 Baltimore while it was still in the basic design stage.<sup>63</sup>

Seeking to clear away bottlenecks in production for the British, Treasury Secretary Morgenthau decided to "do a job" on Martin during October, 1940. He suggested standardization of models: the British should drop the Baltimore and take delivery of B-26s instead.<sup>64</sup> Of course the company protested elimination of this lucrative product. Martin and his executive vice-president, Joseph Hartson, insisted that tooling was already complete for both aircraft, and parts orders well advanced; cancellation would result in still further delays.<sup>65</sup> While they had Morgenthau's ear, Martin and Hartson enlisted his help with other problems. Aluminum forgings were in short supply from Alcoa, the only maker. Roads, water lines, and sewer lines were all inadequate for the additional thirty thousand employees expected to be added during 1941. The company pressed for the Treasury's intervention with the National Defense Advisory Commission so as to hasten Alcoa's output, with state and local officials for roads and sewers, and with the Federal Housing Administration for more housing. Morgenthau assigned Edward Foley, a Treasury lawyer, to Martin's agenda, joking that he was now "Superintendent of Public Works and Sewers" for Glenn L. Martin.<sup>66</sup> Federal prodding perhaps provided some stimulus

to the Maryland State Roads Commission, which undertook a comprehensive highway plan for the Middle River area in October.<sup>67</sup> Martin soon agreed with federal housing authorities on a joint program for a minimum of three thousand individual houses for workers, half to be built by the company on its own land and half to be put up by the government.



At the end of 1940 the new B-26 prototype was at last ready for its first flight. Its radically streamlined appearance greatly impressed all observers. The first order of PBM flying boats was half completed, and these large and impressive planes were taking off from Middle River to join the fleet. Confusion about what planes to build and how and where to build them ended in late 1940. The following year saw huge increases in manpower, plant, and production, eventually bringing Martin and Baltimore to a wartime footing during the months before the United States actually declared war on the Axis. Already in the autumn of 1940 hiring increased. Louis Bertorelli, laid off earlier in the year, rejoined Martin in November. By the end of the year, the employment rolls had grown to 16,653, and by the time of Pearl Harbor this number nearly doubled.<sup>68</sup> During the summer the company was hiring from 120 to 125 new employees every working day, eight hundred a week.<sup>69</sup> There remained plenty of problems to be solved, however, and several heated private—and public—disputes over them flared up during 1941.

The most serious of these had to do with aircraft design. Both the B-26 and the Baltimore had been ordered “off the drawing board”; bringing the first production planes up to combat standards involved disappointments and delays that normally would have been dealt with in a single prototype plane. The B-26, for example, was seriously overweight. The addition of armor plate, fuel tank liners, a power turret, and other extra equipment raised the plane’s gross weight from 26,625 pounds as originally designed to more than 41,000.<sup>70</sup> Worse still, the General Electric turbo-supercharger for the plane’s engines was never developed, reducing the power available to move this increased mass. Instead of nearly 400 mph, top speed was only 325, and the plane’s high stalling and landing speeds gave pilots little margin for error at low altitudes. After a number of landing accidents, the air corps grounded the B-26 between April and June, 1941. Recent research indicates that these groundings may have been due to servicing errors by the air corps’ own maintenance teams, soon put right. Only two of the early mishaps were fatal; the planes were, after all, in the hands of experienced pilots.<sup>71</sup> The accidents served, however, as an ugly foretaste of problems to come with the B-26. The same performance characteristics were to exact a far larger toll when B-26s were assigned to green trainees in 1942; the plane’s “widow maker” nickname arose from that period.

Even more serious design problems beset the British Baltimore bomber. Production was supposed to begin in February, 1941, at the conclusion of the Model 167 production line. Baltimores had already been allotted to RAF squadrons in Africa

and Singapore. The first plane was not rolled out for a test flight, however, until mid-June. Angry disputes with the British occupied most of the spring. Again, Martin blamed aluminum shortages and design modifications. The British had demanded desert equipment (special air filters and "dust exuders" for the engines), a power gun turret, and bomb-bay fittings for a large variety of bombs and mines—none of which had been in the original specifications. The British were skeptical about the aluminum shortage and suspected poor work in the Martin machine shops and design department. Their representatives made repeated personal appeals to Glenn Martin.<sup>72</sup>

After the first Baltimore test flight in June the elated British ordered another six hundred under the Lend Lease Act, but soon still other problems dogged the project. The prototype's hydraulic system, tail-wheel, landing gear struts, and brakes all needed work. It was not until August that anyone noticed that the Baltimore's turret gunner and radio operator had no escape hatch for use if the plane ditched at sea. While these problems were being fixed, the British unhappily accepted planes with known faults and without flight tests; in October the British factory representative reported that flight testing "was only carried out under threat from us that we would consider reluctance to fly the aircraft as equivalent to the failure of a production test and would consequently ground all Baltimores delivered to date."<sup>73</sup> The continued delays were referred to by British procurement officials as "the Baltimore Gap"; they eventually caused the cancellation of planned shipments of Baltimores to the British forces in the Far East and a long postponement of desperately needed reinforcements to the Middle East.<sup>74</sup>

Delivery of PBMs to the navy went more smoothly, but the giant Mars flying boat provided a major disappointment shortly after it was launched, with great ceremony, in November, 1941. At an engine test a month later, one of the new Wright R-3350 engines burst into flame, and fire damage sent the big plane back into the shop until mid-1942.

The delivery to Martin of key parts also slowed production in 1941. Despite Martin's complaint to Secretary Morgenthau in October, 1940, aluminum forgings were in particularly short supply well into the following year. Martin complained to a wider circle. In November he lured Gen. George C. Marshall to the Chesapeake for a goose-hunting expedition that included a stop at the factory. As General Arnold, who was also along, described it:

In row after row, new machines stood idle; not a workman anywhere around; nothing moving. . . . As we walked past the empty machines, I asked Martin why he wasn't using them. "How can I," he replied. . . . "No aluminum."<sup>75</sup>

Marshall duly asked his subordinates to look for solutions, but to no avail. In January, 1941, Martin went public with his frustrations in testimony to the House Naval Affairs subcommittee. This began a public scrap with Alcoa and the Office of Production Management. They were convinced that there was no shortage and that improper planning and ordering by the manufacturers were responsible for any delays. The dispute eventually launched a number of changes, including

increased plant for Alcoa and Reynolds aluminum, improved ordering priorities and procedures, and the enthusiastic but ineffective national scrap drive undertaken during the summer of 1941. In Baltimore alone enthusiastic volunteers collected a pile of pots and pans twenty feet high and a hundred feet square, most of it useless for industrial use.<sup>76</sup>

Aluminum was not the only material in short supply during 1941. The new R-2800 engines from Pratt and Whitney also arrived late, as did the Curtiss-Electric propellers for the B-26. Completed planes lacking important parts were simply parked outside the plant, where, in the months before wartime censorship, they made attractive copy for the reporters and photographers of the *Baltimore Sun*. In June a reporter noted fifty-four bombers awaiting parts; by September a photographer captured a field covered with no fewer than seventy-five of them.<sup>77</sup> Needing the payments that came from delivering the planes to the air corps at Langley Field, Martin began ferrying B-26s to Virginia, then unbolting scarce propellers and sending them back to Baltimore by truck for use on another flight—transferring the parts problem to the air corps. Martin profits slipped nonetheless. Blaming problems with suppliers, the company announced in the spring of 1941 that profits for the previous year had fallen by more than 11 percent below those of 1939. Martin stock remained below \$30 a share.<sup>78</sup>



The most public disputes in 1941 had to do with the local infrastructure. Traffic to the plant, seriously congested ever since 1939, now became intolerable. Middle River lay beyond streetcar or bus lines; most workers commuted there by car along the two-lane Eastern Ave.<sup>79</sup> In February Martin complained publicly that inadequate access to the plant was slowing down production.<sup>80</sup> Ezra Whitman, chief of the state roads commission, counter-charged that new roads had been delayed by objections from the Martin Company's own engineers.<sup>81</sup> New construction did not begin until summer. Expecting federal assistance for the "defense highways" plan worked out the previous autumn, the state roads commission began work on a dual-highway link between Route 40 (Philadelphia Road) and the Martin plant.<sup>82</sup> President Roosevelt's unexpected veto in August of what the administration charged was a pork-barrel highways bill threw roads plans into confusion.<sup>83</sup> The badly needed widening of Eastern Boulevard was put on hold until after federal funding was assured, just weeks before Pearl Harbor.<sup>84</sup> This led to more complaints.<sup>85</sup> In its issue of 8 December 1941 *Life* magazine published a photo spread of "twelve tormented miles" of congestion on Eastern Avenue, where workers "snail and snarl, shrouded in gasoline fumes."<sup>86</sup> Only in 1942 did work finally begin on transforming Eastern Avenue into a dual highway as far as the Martin factory.

Traffic congestion put a premium on erecting worker housing near the plant, as did squalid conditions in Middle River. Unable to find convenient or affordable housing, Martin workers who had migrated to the area packed themselves into barns, lean-tos tents, and parked cars.<sup>87</sup> This too became an issue of public



So many workers drove their cars along Eastern Avenue to the Martin factory each day that Martin complained that traffic tie-ups slowed war production. Eastern Avenue was widened in 1942. (Harry Mettee.)

contention during 1941. In October, 1940, the Martin Company had agreed to put up new housing in Middle River as long as the government matched its effort. Work on the “dream city” projected the previous year resumed in the spring of 1941. Six hundred small houses were prefabricated on industrial methods: half were erected on wooded lots on Wilson Point, just south of Stansbury Manor, the rest along curving streets laid out in former farmland south of the new dual highway to the factory. The latter neighborhood was Aero Acres, with its distinctive aeronautical street names: Dihedral Drive, Fuselage Avenue, Cockpit Street, Blister Street, Left Wing and Right Wing Drives, and Left Aileron and Right Aileron Drives. The six hundred identical houses each measured twenty-eight by twenty-four feet, into which were carefully fitted a living room, two bedrooms, a kitchen, and bathroom. The company offered them for rent for \$30–35 a month.<sup>88</sup> A *Sun* reporter interviewing the first new residents to move in in August found that they had come to Middle River from New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and California.<sup>89</sup>

The matching government housing did not materialize. A month after ground was broken for the new Martin communities, John Palmer, Defense Housing Coordinator for Baltimore, was still speculating about means of providing it. He announced that Martin workers might be temporarily housed in trailer camps near the factory, or that one or two of the five Hudson River steamers purchased by the



In 1941 the sleepy bayside resort community of Middle River quickly became a suburban dormitory for the Martin plant, with six hundred pre-fabricated identical houses going up in the spring of that year at Wilson Point (pictured here) and at Aero Acres, where all the street names were aeronautical. (The A. Aubrey Bodine Collection, Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)

government might be moved to Baltimore as “floating boarding houses.”<sup>90</sup> The following month Palmer hit upon what he felt was a more permanent solution, recommending that the Armistead Gardens Public Housing Project in Baltimore be taken over and set aside for war workers.<sup>91</sup> The city’s second “slum clearance” project, Armistead Gardens had seven hundred units designed for white tenants whose annual incomes were under \$1,000.<sup>92</sup> Martin workers had little use for them: the project was six miles away from the factory, construction values were low, the workers resented that the rents charged them were twice as high as the \$11–12 a month originally planned for Baltimore’s slum dwellers.<sup>93</sup> Many of the units remained vacant, leading John Carmody, local Federal Works Administrator, to throw the project open to other defense workers in June. Responding to Carmody’s criticisms of his workers, Martin charged that the government had not kept its bargain to provide new housing nearer the factory.<sup>94</sup> In July Martin repeated his charges to the congressional committee investigating migratory defense workers.<sup>95</sup>

The Armistead Gardens fiasco left trailers as the only government-sponsored housing for Martin workers in 1941. Planning for trailer camps had been given to the Farm Security Administration, whose migrant labor camps in California housed the pickers of John Steinbeck’s *The Grapes of Wrath*. The FSA moved energetically. By late summer a trailer camp with 235 sites and wood-frame dormitories for three



Although the federal government agreed to match Martin's housing efforts by building up to fifteen hundred additional units in Middle River, it first provided large-scale trailer camps and men's dormitories to ease the housing crisis. (Maryland Historical Society.)

hundred single men opened at the intersection of Stevens Lane and Eastern Avenue, just across from the newly completed Plant No. 2.<sup>96</sup> The twenty-two-foot metal trailers on twenty-by-fifty-foot sites rented for \$6.50–\$7.50 a week; the dormitory rooms rented for \$5. They proved popular with the “defense nomads” who filled a long waiting list then lined up for hours to move in. As was the case in the new houses, most of the trailer-dwellers interviewed in the press had migrated from outside of Maryland.<sup>97</sup> Only after this demonstration of need did government housing authorities move to fulfill their part of the bargain about permanent housing in Middle River. In September the FSA announced that twelve hundred houses would be built on a tract adjoining Aero Acres. Its purchase from the Martin Company was not completed until early 1942; construction of the huge Victory Villa housing development took place later that year.<sup>98</sup> Meanwhile, another thousand trailers were ordered. In early December local housing officials ham-handedly withdrew priorities for building materials for all private projects not located near the Martin plant. This caused a local controversy that nearly overshadowed Pearl Harbor, but it eventually led to a burst of private building in Middle River.<sup>99</sup>





In December, 1941, local housing officials ham-handedly withdrew priorities for all private building projects outside Middle River. Detail from "Boom Town Building Blues" by Richard Q. Yardley, *Baltimore Sun*, 3 December 1941.

Water and sewer connections to the new plant and community represented another source of controversy. Middle River was served by a twelve-inch water line that had been laid when Martin arrived in 1929; the plant had its own small sewage-treatment facility. By the spring of 1941 the pressures of increased production and population had reduced the pressure to only 5 psi, inadequate for fire precautions in Plant No. 1. The new Plant No. 2 had no water or sewer connections at all; an emergency allocation of Lanham Act funds paid for privies to be built for construction workers.<sup>100</sup> Meanwhile the Baltimore County commissioners steadfastly refused to pay for the needed enlargement in public utilities, holding that they only benefited the company and its government customers. Instead they applied for Works Progress Administration grants to pay for them. Their application was filed late, however, and in any case the WPA was winding down during the spring of 1941. Most of its best workers finally found more lucrative work, and those who remained were limited to working only thirty hours a week.<sup>101</sup> By April, with neither project begun, Martin wrote directly to Secretary of War Henry Stimson asking for help. When Stimson refused, Martin replied angrily, threatening that the new government-financed plant would simply not open if water and sewer connections were not completed.<sup>102</sup> Only after this threat were government priorities issued for the work. A new sixteen-inch water main and a new sewer connection with the city treatment plant were all completed in August, just in time to serve the new factory

and trailer camp.<sup>103</sup> By the end of the year, however, they were already inadequate, and planning began for a new thirty-six inch main.<sup>104</sup>

Finding enough employees was another problem of expansion in 1941. Glenn Martin testified in July that applications were still coming in at one thousand a day and that the line that daily formed outside the employment office had not diminished. Yet most applicants were rejected; Martin insisted that "not over 10 percent of the people who are in the line really know how to work." Trained workmen were in particular demand, and it was difficult for Martin to hold them. A *Fortune* reporter noted a number of Maryland-licensed cars outside the Brewster Aircraft factory on Long Island in early 1941.<sup>105</sup> The company energetically developed its own training programs to supply the losses. Four thousand students were enrolled in mid-1941.<sup>106</sup> Supported now by federal funds, the Baltimore City schools expanded industrial training courses in aircraft trades during the autumn of 1940. The supply of new trainees, however, began to dry up in the months before the new plants at Middle River began operations. The Baltimore National Defense Training School opened in June, 1941, in School No. 250 at Baltimore and Aisquith Streets, offering a variety of courses tailored to Martin's requirements. Only 404 of 1,500 places were taken.<sup>107</sup> The company looked to other sources of labor.

Like other aircraft companies, Martin traditionally employed only white males; the first impulse was to recruit them from farther afield, particularly in Appalachia. Training courses based on Martin's needs were established in Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and Washington, D.C.<sup>108</sup> Meanwhile, the National Negro Congress demanded a share of the new jobs in the aviation industry for the local African-American population.<sup>109</sup> Threatening a lawsuit, the Baltimore Urban League persuaded the school board to open a National Defense Training School for Colored on Waesche Street.<sup>110</sup> There was concern, however, about whether its graduates could ever obtain jobs, even after President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 on 25 June, ordering racial integration in plants with government contracts. In July Martin testified before the House Subcommittee on Defense Migration that he was opposed to the idea of challenging Baltimore's traditional patterns of segregation. Integrating black workers, he insisted, would cause the skilled white workers "to walk out when the Negroes walk in." "In the interests of national defense," he said, the company was "not going to do anything to disturb a social problem until someone else has straightened it out."<sup>111</sup> The company claimed exemption from Executive Order 8802 because its contracts dated from September 1940, and the War Department agreed.<sup>112</sup> Although the company felt the pressure Hartson insisted to a Negro Congress representative in September that "we are in control of all of our actions in reference to Negro employment."<sup>113</sup> The company had the same reaction to the employment of women. The columnist Lou Azrael, visiting the plant in July, 1941, was solemnly told that a thousand man-hours of defense work could be lost by the distraction caused by just one woman on the factory floor.<sup>114</sup> By the autumn of 1941, however, external pressure, labor shortages, and the persuasion of the U.S. Employment Service eventually modified Martin's prejudices.<sup>115</sup> Beginning with a handful of each, the company recruited



Women workers at Martin's Canton division—a mother and two daughters. Jobs for women and minorities opened up at Glenn L. Martin only toward the end of 1941, when labor shortages and government pressure finally modified company policy. (Harry Mettee.)

women and African Americans. Initially about two hundred blacks were assigned to custodial jobs and a handful of women to sewing fabric control surfaces.<sup>116</sup> Women soon received more varied opportunities, and they eventually came to comprise more than 35 percent of the Martin workforce.<sup>117</sup> African-American employees, 66 percent of whom were women, eventually comprised 5 percent of the workforce. While white women worked throughout the company, African Americans were segregated in Martin's Canton Division, which included warehouses and a factory producing subcomponents. One-seventh of them held skilled jobs.<sup>118</sup>

The arrival of women and African Americans did not, as it turned out, cause a strike by white male workers. But other potential reasons for labor unrest troubled Martin during 1941.<sup>119</sup> During the spring and summer a wave of strikes hit Martin suppliers like Alcoa and competitors like North American Aviation. Both the United Auto Workers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the International Association of Machinists of the American Federation of Labor were eager to organize the Martin plant, and they had a number of talking points with workers.<sup>120</sup> In common with other aircraft plants, wages at Martin were traditionally lower than those for similar jobs in the automobile industry. The combination of increasing the pace of production and recruiting inexperienced workers naturally gave rise to other grievances. Aggressive "pushing" of production by inexperienced foremen; quarrels over shift assignments, promotions, and draft deferments; and frustrations with housing and transportation all were problems.<sup>121</sup> John Goodspeed, a novice

tool inspector in 1941, later recalled the factory floors as “soaked with grease and crawling with lice,” with hard-bitten foremen patrolling the rest rooms, allowing “only five minutes for a bowel action—no more: ‘Do you want me to come in and wipe you!’ one of them was fond of yelling.”<sup>122</sup> Disappointment over a lost promotion apparently caused Michael Etzel to sabotage more than twenty B-26s on the production line during the summer of 1941; after the FBI arrested him, he was sentenced to fifteen years in federal prison.<sup>123</sup>

In late April more than a hundred semi-skilled workers in the drop hammer department at Middle River suddenly demanded a 5 percent raise in their hourly rate. In an ensuing scuffle with foremen and the plant security department, twenty-seven were ejected from the plant. Frank Bender, state director of the UAW-CIO, called for a sympathetic walkout. For several days a handful of men with signs and a loudspeaker truck showed up at the beginning of each shift, attended by a larger number of police. Rumors of a larger walkout swept the plant. Seven thousand Martin workers belonged to a “company union,” the Middle River Aeronautical Employees Association, which opposed the UAW: leaflets urged workers to “keep the Reds out of the Martin plants.”<sup>124</sup> Although this protest failed, Martin raised average hourly wages by about 14 percent during the summer of 1941.<sup>125</sup>

The company’s concerns for employee morale also led to elaborate programs of corporate paternalism and public relations. After training, new employees were taken to their station by company “contact men,” whose job it was to handle a variety of their problems: taking telephone messages, picking up prescriptions, helping with tire rationing or local housing.<sup>126</sup> Prodding by Martin led to the establishment at Middle River of one of the first USO clubs devoted to providing recreation for war workers. This opened in a building adjacent to Aero Acres in December, 1941.<sup>127</sup> The company itself organized a myriad of sports leagues and other afterwork activities, eventually hiring a full-time recreation director. Worried about the effect on morale of production bottlenecks at the plant, and especially the sight of scores of unfinished planes parked outside, company officials contemplated an expanded public-relations campaign. A slick monthly magazine, the *Martin Star*, and a weekly newspaper, the *Martin Mercury*, were readied for launching at the beginning of 1942.

The combat record of Martin planes offered little help with public relations. The French “Glenns” that survived the 1940 battles were serving on the wrong side. Vichy forces used many of them in raids on the British fleet at Gibraltar following the Royal Navy’s attacks on French warships at Oran and Dakar.<sup>128</sup> In June, 1941, one squadron of Glenns effectively halted a British army column invading the French colony of Syria—until they were shot down by an Australian fighter squadron flying American-built Curtiss Tomahawks.<sup>129</sup> The British, meanwhile, judged that their Model 167 Marylands were not suitable for European operations and shunted most of them off to units in the Mediterranean and Middle East, where they received little publicity. The principal exception involved a handful of early model Maryland Is (some still with French controls) flown out to Malta at the end of 1940. The planes immediately were sent out on dangerous reconnaissance missions over the Italian

naval base at Taranto, contributing to a successful attack by British carrier planes on the Italian fleet. A faked "photo-montage" of a Maryland over Taranto received wide circulation.<sup>130</sup> Marylands based at Malta and in Egypt continued to perform well in reconnaissance, but this necessarily involved individual missions that produced little news for the American press. What news there was appeared occasionally in the Baltimore papers and in interviews with local radio stations.<sup>131</sup> Only at the end of 1941 did Marylands see action in the role for which they were designed. The 150 Maryland IIs shipped to Africa early in the year, assigned to bomber squadrons of the South African Air Force, were not ready for action until November. At this point they were thrown into battle as part of the inconclusive CRUSADER offensive against German and Italian forces in Libya.<sup>132</sup>



The end of 1941, of course, saw Pearl Harbor bring the United States into the war. The three years since Munich had seen a tremendous expansion for Martin and for Baltimore. Factory space at Middle River had increased sevenfold, from 637,000 square feet to 4,500,000, and employment by more than eightfold, from 3,639 to 30,326. Another 1.2 million square-foot plant was nearing completion outside Omaha. Output had increased from twelve bombers a month to well over a hundred. The development of northeastern Baltimore County into a populous industrial suburb had begun. Despite all the delays, 261 B-26s, 21 PBMs, 495 167s and Marylands, and 143 Baltimores had been built and delivered. The production of B-26s was perhaps most impressive. Although the North American B-25 had been ordered at the same time as the Martin B-26, the U.S. Army Air Corps had accepted 261 B-26s by December 1941, as opposed to only 171 B-25s.<sup>133</sup> The smaller B-25s were able to fly off a carrier to bomb Tokyo in the spring of 1942, but B-26s actually flew in the combat zone earlier from bases in Australia. The Martin-General Electric powered gun turret designed for the B-26 was another success. This was the first American turret to match the performance of British counterparts; it was put into production in the autumn of 1941 at a leased factory on Sinclair Lane.<sup>134</sup> Although they took heavy casualties in CRUSADER, Marylands performed well for the RAF. Baltimores began to arrive in Egypt at the beginning of 1942. They were not yet in operation when Rommel began his drive on Egypt during that spring, but they did help stop him at el Alamein in June and July.<sup>135</sup>

The French orders in 1939 had elevated Martin to a position of leadership in the American armaments industry, but by the time of Pearl Harbor that leadership had passed to other companies. Although 1941 profits finally exceeded those of 1939, Martin stock remained below \$30 a share. Delays in production, problems in design, and the disputes accompanying them had taken a toll on the company's reputation with its customers. Air Marshall Roderic Hill complained to the British Aircraft Commission in early 1942 that in the long disputes over the "Baltimore gap," Martin "has insisted on the minutiae of contractual ritual, which is academic in the present emergency."<sup>136</sup> In Washington Robert Lovett, undersecretary of war for air,

expressed similar sentiments, writing that "Martin is one of the two most difficult men in the industry on Air Corps contracts. . . . Perhaps the Greeks had a word for this. Our word for it is 'ornery.'"137 Along with the over-optimistic design of the B-26, Martin's quibbling eventually led to public chastisement by the Truman Committee in 1943. Similarly Martin's problems with the local infrastructure and with labor relations came to a head in a successful union organization drive the same year. Despite the company's head start in rearmament from the generous Allied contracts begun three years before the start of war, and despite Martin's real accomplishments in production, the "political culture" of the depression-era aircraft industry proved hard to break.

### NOTES

1. John M. Haight, Jr., *American Aid to France 1938-1940* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 25. I am happy to acknowledge the assistance of a summer grant from Loyola College, which supported the research for this article, plus the assistance of Jennifer Bryan of the Maryland Historical Society, Stan Piet and Harry Mettce of the Glenn L. Martin Aviation Museum, Prof. J. M. Haight, Jr., of Lehigh University, Jacob Vander Meulen, and several classes of Loyola students. All lent me remarkable assistance in locating the sources cited here. In addition, Professor Haight and Stan Piet were kind enough to give me copies of many relevant documents. Whatever errors I may have made in interpreting them are, of course, my own.

2. Gerald D. White, *Billions for Defense: Government Financing by the Defense Plants Corporation during World War II* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1980), p. 2; Jacob Vander Meulen, *The Politics of Aircraft: Building an American Military Industry* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1991), pp. 221-23.

3. Wayne Biddle, *Barons of the Sky* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991) discusses Martin's career at length. See also Frank Kuznik, "Birdmen Come to Cleveland," in *Air & Space*, April/May 1992, pp. 74-81 and Henry Sill, *To Ride the Wind* (New York: Julian Messner, 1964). A new biography by William Harwood is forthcoming.

4. The flying model has recently been restored and put on display at the Baltimore Museum of Industry.

5. See Martin Company annual reports, 1937 and 1938.

6. J. H. Hartson to Henry C. Kline, 38 Sept. 1937, box 3, Glenn L. Martin Papers, Library of Congress (hereinafter GLMP, LC); Glenn L. Martin to Charles Crane, 28 December 1938, and to Maj. Art Vananan, 6 January 1938, box 5, *ibid.*; McDonnell to Boulton, 20 December 1937, Archive of B-26 Marauder Historical Society, University of Akron. I am indebted to Gen. John Moench for this reference.

7. Glenn Martin to Gen. H. H. Arnold, 25 October 1938, box 222, H. H. Arnold Papers, Library of Congress.

8. Haight, *American Aid*, p. 25; Henry H. Arnold, *Global Mission* (New York: Harper, 1949), pp. 177-80; I. B. Holley, *Buying Aircraft: Materiel Procurement for the Army Air Forces* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1964), chap. 8.

9. Gen. Henry H. Arnold to Louis Johnson, assistant secretary of war, 9 January 1939, Attack Bombers file, Air Adjutant General Central File (AAG), Classified Series, 1939–42, Record Group 18, National Archives (hereinafter RG 18, NA).

10. Contract between the French State and the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company, 6 February 1939, pp. 300–36, book 173, Morgenthau Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York (hereinafter MP, FDRL). Cost figures may be seen in Lyon Book 10A, entry 219, RG 18, NA. The French also financed a new engine factory for Pratt and Whitney in Hartford, where the power plants were to be manufactured for Martin, Douglas, and Curtiss.

11. Martin Company annual report, 1938; British Purchasing Commission, Summary of French Air Contracts, 16 June 1940. I am indebted to Ken Smy for a copy of the latter document; *Baltimore Sun*, 28 March 1938.

12. U.S. Treasury, Division of Research and Statistics, Summary of Capital Commitments of British and French Governments in the Aircraft Industry, 16 May 1940, pp. 25–31, book 263, MP, FDRL.

13. Albert Kahn, "Planning for Expansion," Glenn L. Martin Company file, box 101, Ms. 2010, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore (MdHS); Grant Hildebrand, *Designing for Industry: The Architecture of Albert Kahn* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1974), pp. 193–97; *Engineering News Record*, 22 June 1939, pp. 46–49; Paul E. Tignor, "Problems in Aircraft Plant Expansion," *Civil Engineering*, 11 (1941): 389–92; Avery McBee, "Glenn Martin's Soaring Plane Plant," *Baltimore Sunday Sun Magazine*, 19 March 1939; *Sun*, 27 April 1939. Newspaper references in this article largely come from scrapbooks in the GLMP, LC; vertical files in the Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore; and clippings files in the Glenn L. Martin Company file, box 102, Ms. 2010, MdHS.

14. "Glenn L. Martin Co.," *Fortune*, 19 (December 1939): 73–76, 126–30.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 129–30.

16. 77th Congress, House of Representatives, Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration, Part 15, Baltimore Hearings, 1 and 2 July 1941, (hereinafter National Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings), 5964–66, 5966. I am indebted to Amy Bentley for this reference.

17. *Sun*, 8 April 1939; *Baltimore Sunday Sun*, 9 April 1939; *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 27 April 1939.

18. Martin to Dorothy Goodman, 16 August 1939, box 7, GLMP, LC; *Evening Sun*, 21 March and 22 April 1939.

19. *Evening Sun*, 4 August 1939; *Sun*, 5 August 1939; *Baltimore News Post*, 7 August 1939; *Baltimore American*, 3 September 1939.

20. Martin Company annual report, 1938.

21. Vol. 33, 29 May 1939. See also *Wall Street Journal*, 10 June 1939.

22. The costs were actually \$882,000; Martin's partisan complaints ignored the premium that the French were paying on every plane.

23. See Walt Boyne, "Magruder's Marauder," *Wings*, 3 (April 1973): 19–37, and *Airpower*, 3 (May 1973): 8–21. Both articles built on extensive interviews with Magruder.

24. For the original performance specifications see Charles A. Mendehall, *Deadly Duo: The B-25 and B-26 in WWII* (Osceola, Wisc.: Specialty Press, 1981), p. 30. See also Roger Freeman, *B-26 Marauder at War* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1978), and J. K. Havener, *The Martin B-26 Marauder* (Blue Ridge Summit, Pa.: Aero, 1988).

25. See Boyne articles, n. 21, and Roger Ward and Phelps F. Mace, "The Martin Marauder B-26," *Air Tech*, January 1945, pp. 19-27, 68; H. B. Cottee, "Tactical Medium Bomber," *The Aeroplane*, 3 and 10 August 1945, pp. 130-33 and 157-60.

26. Mendenhall, *Deadly Duo*, p. 36.

27. Peyton Magruder to Bernard Mallon, 23 February 1964, pp. 12-13, M-91-6-18, Mallon Collection, B-26 Marauder Historical Society, University of Akron.

28. After all these preliminaries, Martin would have only six months to produce the planes. Using T. P. Wright's "yardstick" figure of 7.5 lbs of airframe per square-foot of plant, the 1,091,508 square-foot Martin plant could produce only 210 19,480-pound B-26s in that time, approximately what Martin agreed to do. See T. P. Wright, "50,000 Planes a Year: How Much? How Long?," *Aviation*, 35 (July 1940): 34-37, 100-2. Wright was a leading expert on plant capacity.

29. At the same time as the air corps was pondering its medium-bomber order, Congress was considering legislation that would allow "split awards" to several bidders in the name of diversifying production and design. Not until March 1940, however, did this approach become law (Chase C. Mooney and Chauncey Sanders, "Legislation Relating to the AAF Materiel Program" [Headquarters, U.S. Air Force: AAF Historical Study No. 22, 1949], pp. 70-71).

30. *Sun* 11 and 17 August 1939; *New York Times*, 11 August 1939.

31. *Sun*, 19 August 1939.

32. *Sun*, 1 September 1939.

33. British Purchasing Commission, summary of French Air Contracts, June 16, 1940; U.S. Treasury, Division of Research and Statistics, Summary of Capital Commitments of British and French Governments in the Aircraft Industry, 16 May 1940, pp. 25-31, book 263, MP, FDRL.

34. Towson, Md., *Jeffersonian*, 8 September 1939.

35. *Fortune*, December 1939 (cf. n. 14 cite). See also *News Post*, 29 February 1940, and Jay P. au Werter, "Bombers in Quantity," *Aviation*, 35 (November 1940): 34-37, 108.

36. Jean Cuny and Raymond Danel, "Les 'Glenn' dans L'Armée de l'Air," *La Fanatique d'Aviation*, 158 (1983): 43.

37. Haight, *American Aid*, pp. 239-45, and Cuny and Danel, "Les 'Glenn,'" pp. 43-44, have slightly different figures.

38. "The Man Who Sells His Airplanes to the Allies," *Paris Soir*, 25 May 1940; see translation in box 199, GLMP, LC.

39. Martin also sought to sell 167s to Belgium and Holland. See Martin correspondence with R. T. Crane, 30 November and 29 December 1939, box 8, GLMP, LC; Models 167-H1 and H3 in Martin-Marietta Corp., E.R. 9222, "Model Designations," copy in the possession of the Glenn L. Martin Museum, Middle River, Md.

40. Telephone conversation between Morgenthau and Capt. Harry E. Collins, 15 January 1940, p. 390, book 263, MP, FDRL.



41. Haight, *American Aid*, pp. 193–99, Alan Lee Schadler, “Anglo French Economic Coordination in World War II: The Anglo-French Coordinating Committee, 1939–1940,” Ph.D. diss. Lehigh University, 1975, chap. 8.

42. Wing Cdr. James Adams to Maj. Davies, 23 March 1940, AVIA 38/795, Public Record Office, Kew, Great Britain (hereinafter PRO).

43. For early versions of the redesigned Martin fuselage and wing cowlings, dating from October and November 1939, see numbers 502 and 508, drawer D-057 (flat), 167F and 167-F1A, National Air and Space Museum Annex, Silver Hill, Md.

44. Arnold, *Global Mission*, pp. 183–87, tells the story better, but misdates it; see Thomas M. Coffey, *Hap* (New York: Viking, 1982), pp. 219ff.

45. See memorandum reports on the changes to air corps matériel division, 8 December 1939 and 17 April 1940, in Martin (X)A-22 file, RD 2430, 452.1, RG 342, National Archives Annex, Suitland, Md.; drawing number R-23600, drawer D-057 (flat), 167-F3, National Air and Space Museum, Silver Hill.

46. Memorandum of Agreement, 17 May 1940, AVIA 38/795, PRO; U.S. Treasury Division of Research and Statistics, Summary of Capital Commitments of British and French Governments in the Aircraft Industry, 16 May 1940, pp. 25–31, book 263, MP, FDRL. Later adjustments brought the total up to \$48.2 million; see British Air Commission report on cash procurement in the United States, 30 March 1946, 512.861E, U.S. Air Force Historical Research Agency, Maxwell Field, Alabama.

47. Andrew Witte oral history interview of Louis Bertorelli, May 1992, in possession of the author.

48. J. Cuny, “Martin 167 in French Service,” *American Aviation Historical Society Journal*, 10 (1965): 35–41.

49. H. Duncan Hall, *North American Supply* (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1955), pp. 147–55.

50. The British also managed to acquire a number of 167s already delivered to the French, intercepting some on the high seas and obtaining others via defectors.

51. Glenn Martin file, AVIA 38/795, PRO.

52. Lewis Ord to Westbrook, 19 October 1940, *ibid.*

53. 5 August 1940, pp. 136–43, book 289, MP, FDRL.

54. Frank Garbutt to Martin, 14 July 1940, GLMP, LC.

55. “What if British Orders Cease?” asked a typical article in *Business Week*, 3 August 1940, p. 48.

56. *Baltimore American*, 18 August 1940; *Sun*, 18 August 1940; *Wall Street Journal*, 3 September 1940.

57. Remarks of Secretary Morgenthau, 8 October 1940, p. 56, vol. 3230, MP, FDRL; *New York Times*, 18 October 1940.

58. *Sun*, 29 September 1940.

59. *Sun*, 5 October 1940.

60. Martin Company press release 101, 20 February 1941, Facilities file, box 74, GLMP, LC.

61. Martin to James Irvine, 20 December 1940, GLMP, LC.

62. Martin Company to assistant chief, U.S. Air Corps Materiel Division, 8 October 1940, Means for Accelerating Aircraft Production folder 452.1, AAG Central File, Classified Series, 1939-42, bulky, box 235, entry 293, RG 18, NA.

63. Letters and teletypes of 17 and 18 December 1940, 1 and 28 January, 15 February, 17 March, and 7 July 1941, AVIA 38/795, PRO.

64. Typed minutes of treasury conference, 8 October 1940, pp. 56-60, book 320, MP, FDRL.

65. Ibid., 16 October 1940, pp. 86-87, book 323, MP, FDRL.

66. Ibid., 22 October 1940, p. 169, book 324, MP, FDRL.

67. Harold Randall Manakee, comp., *Maryland in World War II* (4 vols; Baltimore: War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society, 1950-1958), 3:253; *Sun*, 18 January 1941; photo in *Sunday Sun*, 8 June 1941.

68. Bertorelli interview; Martin Manufacturing Activity Charts, box 79, GLMP, LC.

69. National Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 6020.

70. Underestimating aircraft weight, which improved projected performance, was apparently a characteristic competitive practice of the Martin Company; see R. J. Reger report on XA-22, 4 Dec. 1939, Sarah Clark Papers, RD 2430, RG 342, NA.

71. Tom Hall, "Breaking in the B-26," *American Aviation Historical Society Journal*, 37 (1992): 2-13.

72. Air Ministry to Sir Henry Self (British Air Commission), 13 and 17 December 1940, 5 and 12 March 1941; Musson to Ord, 19 December 1940; Ord to Sir Richard Fairey, 1 January, 1941; G. L. Barnett to Frank White, 13 February 1941; C. W. Miller to Fairey, 19 March 1941; Fairey to Self, 24 March 1941—all in AVIA 38/795, PRO.

73. Henderson to Air Ministry, 23 October 1941; Air Marshall Hill to Self, 17 February 1942, *ibid.*

74. As compensation for the delayed Baltimores, the British were allocated fifty early-model B-26s. The British christened this plane the Marauder.

75. Arnold, *Global Mission*, p. 205.

76. James W. Fesler, *Aluminum Policies of the War Production Board and Predecessor Agencies, May 1940 to November 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Reports on War Administration, War Production Board Special Study No. 22, 1946); *Sun*, 29 July 1941; Manakee, *Maryland in World War II*, 3:178.

77. *Sun*, 16 and 22 June 1941; *Sunday Sun* rotogravure section, 28 Sep. 1941.

78. *New York Herald-Tribune*, 1 April 1941; *New York Times*, 18 April 1941.

79. *Jeffersonian*, 17 January 1941; *Sun*, 18 January and 20 March 1941; Frank Henry, "Baltimore's Plague of Traffic," *Sunday Sun Magazine*, 27 July 1941.

80. *Sun*, 13 February 1941.

81. *Baltimore American*, 16 February 1941.

82. *New York Times*, 6 April 1941; *Sun*, 11 and 23 August 1941.

83. *New York Times*, 5 August 1941 and 28 September 1941.

84. *Sun*, 18 July 1941; *New York Times*, 22 November 1941.

85. *Sun*, 25 November 1941.

86. "Vast Traffic Jam Daily Engulfs Workers Outside Baltimore Bomber Plant," *Life*, 8 December 1941.

87. Frank Henry, "Heavy Migration of Defense Workers Straining Many Communities' Facilities," *Sunday Sun Magazine*, 10 August 1941.

88. *Sun* 12 August 1941; Martin Company annual report, 1941; Donna Jean Dulina's articles on Aero Acres, Essex, Md., *Avenue News*, August 1991; *Sun*, 13 January 1991.

89. *Sun*, 16 August 1941; *Evening Sun*, 15 August 1941.

90. *Sun*, 24 February 1941. Congress had just appropriated \$6.7 million for trailers.

91. *Sun*, 5 March 1941.

92. The city's first project, Poe Homes, was for African Americans only (*Sun*, 11 June 1939, 12 February, 5 September, and 28 October 1940).

93. *Sun*, 13 and 25 May, 12 June, 13 July, and 31 October 1941.

94. *Sun*, 29 June 1941.

95. National Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 6024–25. Besides more government-built housing, Martin called for government registration and regulation of all exiting housing units in Baltimore.

96. *Sun*, 19 March 1941; James Cody, federal housing administrator, interview dated 9 February 1946, FPHA file, box 91, MS 2010, MdHS.

97. *Sun*, 2 August 1941, *Evening Sun*, 7 August 1941.

98. Deed Book 1216, ff. 205–209, Baltimore County Land Records, Towson, Md. The seller of record was the Martin subsidiary Stansbury Manor, Inc. My research of Victory Villa was aided by Loyola College students Carrie Nee, Debbie Washington, and B. J. Pendleton.

99. *Sun*, 22 October 1941, December, 1941, *passim*, and *Evening Sun*, 19 Nov. 1943.

100. Donald S. Howard, "The Lanham Act in Operation," *Survey Midmonthly*, 79 (February 1943): 38–40.

101. *Sun*, 24 May 1941; Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 5914, 5926–27, 5930–31, and 6100.

102. War Production Board Policy Documentation File, 678C, RG 179, NA.

103. *Jeffersonian*, 15 August 1941.

104. *Sun*, 21 January 1942.

105. *Fortune*, 23 (March 1941): 94.

106. Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 6021, 6028–29; Carl Norcross, "Factory Training in the East," *Aviation*, 36 (October 1940): 25–35, 100, 126.

107. Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 5964–77.

108. *Ibid.*, 6097, 6108, 6110, 6113; Martinsburg, W. Va., *Journal*, 19 March 1941.

109. *Pittsburgh Courier*, 22 March 1941 (copy in GLMP, LC); Hartson to Martin, 3 September 1941, box 11, GLMP, LC.

110. Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 5970, 6067–95.

111. *Ibid.*, 6022–24.

112. New York *Daily Worker*, 7 July 1941.

113. Conversation between Hartson and Murphy, 5 September 1941, box 11, GLMP, LC; T. P. Wright, report of inspection trip to Martin plant, 11 July 1941, War Production Board Policy Documentation Files, 313.05, RG 179, NA.

114. *News Post*, 22 July 1941.

115. Eleanor Brady, "Well-known No. 8802," *Manpower Review*, 10 (December 1943): 4; "Dropping of Color Bar Breaks the Ice of Discrimination," *Boston Garden News*, 11 October 1941 (GLMP, LC).

116. Report on inspection of Martin plant, 30 September 1941, Glenn Martin file, Lovett Alphabetical Files, classified, entry 39, RG 107, NA.

117. *Sun*, 4 January 1942; "Women at Work," *Martin Star*, 1 (March 1942): 19-20; *News Post*, 31 March 1942; Manakee, *Maryland in World War II*, 2:395.

118. "Beehive Today, Canton Refused Role in Oblivion," *Martin Star*, 2 (October 1943): 15; War Manpower Commission report on Martin, 31 January 1944, entry 217, box 5, RG 211, NA. I am indebted to Jacob Vander Meulen for this last reference. Brady, *Manpower Review*, says that as many as 6,000 black workers were employed in 1943, but this comes to more than 5 percent.

119. Vander Meulen, *Politics of Aircraft*, pp. 162-63, 210. Martin told Gen. George Brett that he feared the CIO would try to "create a difficult situation for him by stirring up trouble in the Fairchild plant at Hagerstown, which is one of his major subcontractors" (memorandum for Robert A. Lovett, 18 April 1941, entry 39, Glenn Martin Company file, Lovett Alphabetical Files, classified, Secretary of War Papers, RG 107, NA).

120. Malton to Peterson, 4 December 1941, Glenn Martin file, Records of the International Association of Machinists, Wisconsin Historical Society.

121. Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 6061-67.

122. John Goodspeed, "Boomtown," *Baltimore Magazine* (October 1987), p. 87.

123. *Sun*, 18 November 1941.

124. *Sun*, 25, 26 April 1941; conversation between Plant Manager H. F. Vollmer and representatives of NDAC, 25 April 1941, War Production Board Policy Documentation Files, 313.42, RG 179, NA.

125. The average rose from 79 cents for the first seven months to 90 cents for the last five. (Manufacturing Activity Charts, p. 15, box 79, GLMP, LC).

126. "The Contact Man Keeps the Home Front Happy," *Martin Star*, 1 (May 1942), p. 10.

127. Defense Migration Baltimore Hearings, 6019.

128. *New York Times*, 25 September 1940.

129. Christian-Jacques Ehrengart and Christopher F. Shores, *L'Aviation Vichy au Combat. Tome 2. La Campagne de Syrie 8 Juin-14 Juillet 1941* (Paris: Lavauzelle, 1987); "Martins Taking Both Sides in Syrian Fighting," *Baltimore News Post*, 17 June 1941.

130. *U.S. Air Services*, April 1941. Another reconnaissance Maryland flying from Scotland spotted the escape into the Atlantic of the German battleship *Bismarck* in April 1941, but this mission remained secret.

131. Godfrey Anderson, "Martin Bombers Are Eyes for British Forces in Africa," *Baltimore Sun*, 21 July 1941; "Germans Beaten by Martin Bombers," *Baltimore News Post*, 24 October 1941; transcript of interview on WCAO Radio by Ken Ebel, Martin test pilot, 29 November 1941, box 12, GLMP, LC.

132. "Baltimore-Built Planes In Action In Libya," *Sun*, 28 November 1941.

133. *AAF Statistical Digest*, 1946, pp. 119-20. Biddle, p. 276, as well as a number of other authorities, are mistaken about the relative acceptance schedules of the two

planes. North American's delays arose from a bitter strike and design problems with the B-25's tail.

134. I. B. Holley, "The Development of Aircraft Gun Turrets in the AAF, 1917–1944," (Washington: USAF Historical Study No. 54, n.d.), pp. 119–20, 213–17.

135. Christopher Shores, "Martin Maryland and Baltimore Variants," Charles W. Cain, ed., *Aircraft in Profile*, vol. 11, no. 232.

136. Hill to Director General of BAC, 17 February 1942, AVIA 38/795, PRO.

137. Lovett to Isador Lubin, Glenn Martin Co. file, Lovett Alphabetical Files, Classified, entry 39, RG 107, NA. I am indebted to Jacob Vander Meulen for this reference.

# Wages of War: The Shifting Landscape of Race and Gender in World War II Baltimore

AMY BENTLEY

What did the experience of World War II mean to those Baltimoreans who stayed at home? Was Baltimore a city in which people could find better jobs and a better life? Was its meaning different for men and women? Blacks and whites? Rich and poor? What kinds of war work did people perform? Did they find adequate housing?

By exploring wartime documents, newspapers, and photos, as well as by searching personal testimony, one can gain a renewed sense of the wartime experiences of Baltimoreans, especially those of women and blacks. It is particularly important to evaluate the experiences of African Americans and women, for the war altered—some argue irrevocably—their places in society. Further, these two groups experienced changes wrought by the war in ways illustrating some of the tensions, conflicts, and transformations that marked wartime Baltimore.

The legacy of World War II remains unclear. While historians generally agree that women and blacks—entering the workforce in large numbers—challenged stereotypes and broke down social and economic barriers, not all these gains proved lasting. Some students of the period view the war as having marked only “a temporary retreat” from the prevailing view of women’s proper roles.<sup>1</sup> Others argue that the war actually helped solidify conventional notions of gender.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, most historians view the war as prompting a major breakthrough in the African American’s struggle for civil rights; others emphasize the irony of a country’s fighting for freedom abroad while withholding the promise of democracy from a portion of its own citizens—even if the abundance of jobs temporarily quieted anger over social inequities.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless the war brought much social upheaval and uncertainty to Baltimore (and the rest of the country) as women and blacks took jobs earlier held by white men. How Baltimore and its citizens handled these wartime transformations provides the focus of this essay.



On the eve of American involvement in World War II, Baltimore was one of the most dynamic defense-related boom towns in the country—a significant port city and

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a major point on both the eastern railway and road systems. President Roosevelt's intention of making the United States the arsenal of democracy, besides ending the decade-long Great Depression, stoked Baltimore's existing steel, ship building, and aircraft industries with millions of dollars in defense contracts. Other Baltimore industries—clothing, food processing, and alcohol distilling—also converted to war-time production. Tens of thousands of people from all over the country migrated to Baltimore in search of opportunity. This migration boosted Baltimore's metropolitan population from a pre-war estimate of 850,000 to more than a million by 1945.<sup>4</sup>

In 1942, as the number of war workers in the area almost doubled, Baltimore saw sixteen new industries established, with ninety others expanding their industrial capacities. By the end of the year the number of migrants registering for jobs jumped from an average of 3,000 to 4,250 per month. At one point, fifteen hundred people a week came to Baltimore in search of jobs and housing. Between 1940 and 1943 more than 160,000 workers, many of them with families, migrated to Baltimore from rural Maryland, West Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Both the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company and the Bethlehem-Fairfield shipyard noted that there were more employees with out-of-state social security numbers on their payrolls than those with Maryland numbers. Black Americans increased their percentage of the city's population from approximately 16 to 20 percent and by 1945 numbered over 200,000.<sup>5</sup>

Despite constant in-migration, Baltimore was one of the first industrial centers to experience an acute labor shortage during the war. One reason was that 200,000 Marylanders, an estimated 10 percent of the population, joined the armed forces. But worker turnover among Baltimore industries also became a factor. People quit for even better paying jobs.<sup>6</sup> According to one survey, 7,500 workers each month left one plant for another in the search for higher wages. The Bethlehem-Fairfield plant reported a 100 percent turnover rate in ten months. In a two-month period the fourteen largest war plants in Baltimore hired 23,000 in order to maintain a net increase of 2,800 workers. Other studies showed that for every seventeen workers hired, fourteen left. More than half of those leaving simply walked out with no advance warning. Companies often had absentee rates approaching 20 percent; 10 percent of the workforce on average was absent on any given day. Not only did war plants have a hard time keeping and hiring employees. Trying to maintain their staffs, Baltimore hospitals experimented with prison labor as orderlies and maintenance workers.<sup>7</sup>

Baltimore's population was in constant flux, not only from people pouring into the area looking for war work, but from those pouring out as well. Each month more than three thousand left the city. People became discouraged by the lack of housing, felt lonesome for their families, found "city" ways objectionable, or simply returned home to farms or war-related jobs. In the first eight months of 1944, while 35,000 people migrated to Baltimore, 61,000 left.<sup>8</sup>

With a 30 percent net population increase attended by such heavy movement in and out of the city, Baltimore's infrastructure experienced great stress. Transport-

tation problems reached crisis proportions. Although the city revised and expanded its transportation facilities in every possible way—even providing bus services at twenty-one second intervals in one industrial section—the situation was still critical. Hanover Street, the main highway to the Curtis Bay area, was the scene of daily traffic jams and confusion even though almost half of Baltimore war workers were members of car-sharing clubs.<sup>9</sup> Housing, sewerage and water lines, schools, and recreation facilities all groaned under the weight of so many people moving so fast in and out of the city. Also adding to the city's population—and confusion—was the steady influx of visitors: soldiers visiting from one of the area's five military bases; sailors in port for a weekend's rest and recreation; and women, often with small children, coming to Baltimore to visit military husbands or sweethearts stationed nearby. In 1941 the Maryland Council for Defense noted that 90 percent of both the state's war industries and activities of soldiers on leave were centered in and around the city; a 1943 government study identified Baltimore as having "faced virtually every wartime problem that any American city has encountered."<sup>10</sup>



Although its industrial economy resembled that of Philadelphia and New York, Baltimore even in the 1940s was most decidedly Southern in character. Jim Crow was alive and well; blacks and whites lived in separate and unequal worlds. While the city's main War Service Center was located at the Enoch Pratt Free Library downtown, Baltimore opened separate service centers for blacks. A 1943 guide for city newcomers listed segregated YWCAs, white and "Negro" nursery schools and day care centers, and five hospitals—four for whites and one for blacks. Also listed were white and "colored" Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops and a Salvation Army Red Shield Boy's Club "open to any white boy between 6–18." African Americans sat in the balconies of downtown movie houses and theaters (if allowed in at all) and were turned away from downtown department stores, lunch counters, and most hotels. The restaurant at the train station was one of the few places allowing blacks and whites to dine together. The downtown Friendly Inn, charging thirty-five cents a night, advertised beds and a lounging room "for colored men."<sup>11</sup>

Baltimore African Americans felt humiliated by a system many whites applauded as conducive to keeping "order" in the community. Like the interned Japanese Americans on the West Coast, blacks were well aware of the ironies of fighting for democracy abroad while it was still unsecured at home. Harlem Renaissance poet Andy Razaf, in his poem "Super-American" published in the Baltimore *Afro-American*, summed up blacks' feelings about life in wartime Jim Crow America:

I'm a back door man  
Paying front door dues,  
But mostly getting IOU's,  
Very seldom judged by worth.  
Blocked and handicapped from birth.  
Underpaid and disfranchised,



Lynched at will and victimized,  
Defamed and libeled, as a rule  
By radio, press, screen and school  
While hypocrites, from pulpits nod—  
Supporters of a jim crow God.

Man, "Four Freedoms" sure would be  
Just about too much for me!  
Four must sure be hard to get—  
I've hardly had the first one yet!  
But I'm loyal, rain or shine  
Always right up there in line.  
Yes, this is my country too;  
I've been here as long as you,  
Paid my way with sweat and toil—  
My blood and tears are in her soil.

Yes, I've fought in all your wars,  
Made a record good as yours,  
So in nineteen forty-three,  
In this fight for liberty,  
Count on me to do my share  
Any time and anywhere.  
Tho democracy may seem  
Still a vague and distant dream;  
In this life there'll never be  
A dream as sweet and dear to me!<sup>12</sup>

The war was a time of great social stress in Baltimore and all major American cities. Population growth heightened racial tension as whites and blacks vied for decent housing and good paying jobs and struggled to negotiate access to and enjoyment of such public spaces as shopping areas, recreation facilities, and eating establishments formerly part of the white domain. Integrated workplaces provided opportunities for whites and blacks to interact on a more equal basis and thereby indirectly promoted equal rights. But workplace integration also produced racial tension.

Despite some wartime integration in the workplace, the tradition of Jim Crow kept most blacks out of the more desirable jobs. With only a few exceptions, the city maintained its color hierarchies. While many blacks had worked at Bethlehem Steel for years, they were barred from most of the high-paying jobs because of an entrenched Southern system defining acceptable work for blacks.<sup>13</sup> During the Depression blacks comprised a disproportionately large percentage of the unemployed. As the wartime economy picked up, companies still resisted hiring blacks. In 1941 young black men just graduating from high school were told at the Glenn L. Martin Aircraft plant, "We do not hire Negro labor." "Unbiased, Bendix Says, But Only 100 Out of 3500 Workers Colored" read a wartime headline in the

Baltimore *Afro-American*. Black women, who found it especially hard to break into lucrative war jobs, worked overwhelmingly as domestics or held clerical or teaching positions in black businesses and schools. The Social Security Board noted that even with increasing shortages of labor, Baltimore companies were not willing to hire blacks for positions, no matter how qualified. Of 8,769 skilled and semi-skilled aircraft jobs available in the first quarter of 1941, only thirteen went to non-white workers.<sup>14</sup>

Baltimore African Americans did their best to speak out against job discrimination, but protestors met much resistance. In 1942 policemen killed ten blacks rallying to publicize the inequities. Hundreds of others drove to Annapolis to take their grievances straight to the governor, Herbert O'Connor. They protested discrimination in war industries but also in other organizations, including labor unions, utility companies, and public transit.<sup>15</sup> A 1942 pamphlet "The Negro and the War" bluntly spelled out the major problems blacks faced in Baltimore. Stating that "the effects of job discrimination have this city in a vise," the treatise made it clear that "despite the ever increasing demand for war industry labor in the neighborhood . . . practically no attempt had been made to hire Negroes, though the city has a Negro population of 167,000." "It is worth noting," the authors reminded readers, "that Negroes are employed at skilled work, with union membership privileges, not only north of Baltimore, but south of Baltimore." "White and colored machinists work side by side in Norfolk," they wrote, hoping to show that other Southern cities could successfully integrate their workforce.<sup>16</sup> With a certain amount of prompting by the federal government, which itself had begun to hire blacks and integrate workplaces, gradually war industries became daring enough—or desperate enough for workers—to begin hiring black men and women.<sup>17</sup> Eventually the percentage of African Americans in Maryland's workforce rose from 7 to 17 percent, although many held the poorest paid, the least desirable, and the most dangerous jobs.

The city experienced ethnic as well as racial prejudice. This prejudice, along with many groups' tight-knit cohesion, helped to maintain segregation by ethnicity. As late as 1930, about 30 percent of the population had at least one foreign-born parent, and in 1940 residential segregation among immigrants remained fairly high. Fells Point housed a strong community of Poles; Italians congregated in downtown Little Italy; Bohemians lived in southeast Locust Point; and Russian and German Jews, first settling in Oldtown, began to move north and westward to Eutaw place and along Liberty Road. Inter-ethnic rivalries and a certain amount of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholic prejudice forced other groups besides Baltimore blacks to experience hostilities. The city's significant Ku Klux Klan membership protested Jews and Catholics as well as African Americans. Subtle prejudice was more common (delivery men refused to serve the only Jewish resident of the comfortable, Protestant suburb of Guilford). Frequently ethnic groups could not contain their Old World suspicions of one another, and wartime politics brought these tensions to the surface. Many immigrants, especially if they were German or Italian, dealt with fears of being branded "un-American." YWCA workers did their best to help people



Training course for African-American soldiers at the Army Signal Depot at Fort Holabird. In the 1940s both the armed forces and Maryland were strictly segregated. (Author's collection.)

interpret the different Alien Registration Acts that required foreign organizations, newspapers, and individual alien residents to register with the government.<sup>18</sup>

Baltimore had always suffered from a lack of quality housing, particularly for immigrants, the poor, and African Americans. The city's pre-war housing shortage, however, was minimal compared to that created by World War II. Called "Baltimore's biggest headache," family housing, except for a few new public and private developments, was virtually non-existent for the newcomer. Families lived in all kinds of dwellings, including trailers and hastily built houses in residential areas with names like Victory Villa, Aero Acres, Lodge Forest, and Gray Manor. In addition, government authorities set up temporary housing in already established communities in Brooklyn, Dundalk, Glen Burnie, and Essex. Women attempted to make these places as hospitable as possible and did their best to set up libraries, social houses, nurseries, clinics, and post offices.<sup>19</sup>

Although by 1940 available housing for white families was about average for cities the size of Baltimore, there was practically no city housing for African Americans. Strict segregation limited blacks mainly to three small areas in the oldest and most dilapidated sections of town, although the newcomers swelling the ranks forced some enlargement of the boundaries. The area totaled only about three square miles, resulting in population density of as high as 78,000 persons per square mile.<sup>20</sup> Because of the cramped spaces, lack of employment, and discrimination in general, most of Baltimore's black population experienced dismal living conditions. In 1945 the director of the sanitary section of the Baltimore City Health Department noted

that living conditions like those described as follows “were not unusual in Baltimore.”

Families were crowded into any available space from cellar to attic in dwellings which had already reached a state of dilapidation, were woefully lacking in sanitary facilities, and infested with rats and vermin. Many houses formerly occupied by one, two or three families were divided and subdivided again and again to become the homes for six, eight or ten families. It was not unusual to find one bathroom being used by twenty-five or thirty persons . . . no provisions made for the disposal of garbage or rubbish that was found in piles in cellars, yards or hallways; plumbing in such a state of disrepair as to be unusable; hazardous types of cooking and heating installations presenting possibilities of carbon monoxide poisoning; structural defects and lack of adequate exits presenting accident and fire hazards; and an abundance of bedbugs, roaches, and rats.

The director went on to tell about a landlord who would not clean up the dwellings he rented to Baltimore blacks “because in his opinion the Negro occupants did not deserve better housing. [The landlord] frankly said so and continued to take his rent from them.”<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, not much was done during the war years to improve the housing situation. The city's War Service Center, which coordinated all housing information, did not handle lodging for African Americans. To find any kind of lodging, suitable or otherwise, blacks had to go to the city's Negro YMCA and YWCA. Eventually, some public housing planned specifically for blacks was built both in town and in outlying areas, but Baltimore whites voiced stiff opposition to each attempt to expand and improve housing for blacks. Indeed, expanding housing for African Americans outside of the traditional boundaries was one of the most explosive and divisive issues the city faced. Although in 1943 officials reserved 450 of the 2,600 publicly and privately financed housing units for black war workers and their families, most plans never were realized. By mid-1944 60 percent of the planned housing for blacks was yet to be started or remained unfinished; an August 1944 report actually noted a surplus of white housing. Workers at the Druid Hill YWCA, in order to take care of all the black women who wanted housing in the city, had constantly to search out and persuade black Baltimoreans to take in boarders.<sup>22</sup>

Despite the shortages, some Baltimore whites publicly protested against the expansion of black housing. In July 1943 eight hundred whites—three-fourths of them women—marched on the office of Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin to protest a proposal to build homes for twelve hundred black war workers in an undeveloped site alongside Herring Run Park. McKeldin, described in the newspaper as “visibly annoyed,” addressed the group despite some “rude remarks” from the crowd. He told them:

When I assumed the job of mayor there was a colored housing problem. . . . I'm not responsible for it. You're not responsible for it. But whether we like



Women tried to make their temporary dwellings in trailers and hastily-built pre-fabs as comfortable and “normal” as possible. This young woman works on her trellis at a government-built trailer town near the Glenn L. Martin plant in 1942. (Maryland Historical Society.)

it or not, it's here. I tried to get the various bodies to agree on a site but that was utterly impossible. So I appointed an interracial commission of nine, seven white and two colored, to recommend a suitable location. That is all that I have done. The people in Washington have the final say-so in this matter.<sup>23</sup>

The *Afro-American* noted in its coverage of the protest that none of the protest leaders, all of whom happened to be clergy, lived nearby. The paper dutifully recorded their reasons for protesting the site. One remarked, “I would be the first to protest against slums in which colored people have to live. I’m convinced, however, that this is as much an unwarranted intrusion in an area where there are no colored people just as much as it would be intrusion in Roland Park, Guilford or Homeland.” Another’s reply was: “For many years people in Maryland have known their place. If many were asked whether they wanted to live in this location, they would say no.” The third was quoted as saying: “I wonder if the *Sun* will be willing to open its editorial offices and Mr. Albert Hutzler his store to colored people.”<sup>24</sup> A letter to the editor of the *Afro-American* called another mass meeting to protest 1,250 temporary dwellings for black workers “about the cheapest and meanest display of ignorance . . . ever seen.” “Why are Americans of color so



Rationing at the food store and selling rationed meat at the butcher's (below), 1945. Women on the homefront tackled the job of preparing nutritious meals with rationed foods and meats, a task that quickly took on patriotic meaning. (The A. Aubrey Bodine Collection, Peale Museum, Baltimore City Life Museums.)



unwanted?" Theodore Roberts, Jr., asked about Baltimore's black citizens: "What are they guilty of that makes them victims of vicious and unprincipled groups?"<sup>25</sup>

To gain a more accurate picture of the black housing situation, community leaders, with the approval of city government, began a survey in the fall of 1943 of all city housing for African Americans. Interpreting the results erupted into controversy. The chairman, Robert Bonnell (who was white), optimistically announced that for the city's blacks "living quarters are neither inadequate nor so lacking in conveniences as was formerly supposed [and] sanitary and heating facilities, although not always modern, are included in a majority of dwellings."<sup>26</sup> Those who actually conducted the study, mostly African Americans, offered a sharply contrasting view, charging that their survey was grossly misinterpreted, as a "conscious effort by a number of persons, including several city officials and petty politicians to minimize the crucial housing needs of colored people in complete disregard of the . . . facts."<sup>27</sup> A Baltimore *Sun* editorial entitled "Who's Right?" wondered if the chairman "can explain why he issued a report on . . . Negro housing conditions without consulting those who conducted the survey." To make matters worse, the statistician Bonnell identified as compiling the housing figures denied he had ever worked on the survey.<sup>28</sup> Housing continued to be a problem even as the war ended, and the numbers migrating to the city slowed.



The war also placed women's roles and status in society under close scrutiny. In contrast to the military front, where men served, the homefront seemed to take on a feminine persona. "That the homefront has an army is beyond a doubt," a *Sun* article related confidently. "Mostly comprised of women, this army yearns to see the war's end come in sight, and individually its members sacrifice a good deal to work toward the peace."<sup>29</sup> Magazine articles and advertising, radio spots, and government posters told women their battlefield was primarily in the kitchen and the home. Baltimore women of all colors and nationalities experienced many of the same wartime problems and tensions: families disrupted by husbands and fathers gone into the military; hasty marriages to military men; new, unfamiliar, and often stressful jobs; food, gas, and heating oil shortages; ration points; air raid drills and blackout curtains. Bolton Hill resident Frances B. Semmes noted in her diary: "Have acquired paper for 'Black-Outs,' blue bulb, flash lights, pails, sand and shovel, and have had skylight covered from the outside. House and stairs are so dark shall probably break neck or leg before black-out!"<sup>30</sup> In general, women of all kinds felt the burden of taking on extra wartime responsibilities while still being responsible for all the cooking, cleaning, and child care as before.

Food rationing and shortages challenged women to cook nutritious and tasty meals without accustomed ingredients. "Meats, fats and butter rationed. . . . It is 'Hells Bells' to keep house these days!" Semmes exclaimed.<sup>31</sup> A government booklet told Maryland women how to prepare meals with so-called "specialty meats," and offered such enticing recipes as "French Fried Liver," "Creole Kidney," "Jellied

Tongue,” “Tongue Rolls Florentine,” and “Tripe a la Maryland,” the latter made with cherries, bay leaf, and lemon. During the 1942 Christmas season “candy canes [were] only a memory,” according to the *Evening Sun*, as there was not enough sugar or sufficient labor to make the Christmas treats. To save the steel that would be used for knives, the OPA prohibited bakeries from selling sliced bread. To many this restriction seemed silly, especially since most bakeries were equipped with machines that both sliced and wrapped the loaves. The *Sun* reminded women, “those slices you mutilate in learning . . . will make bread pudding.” The *Jewish Times* gave women advice about buying kosher foods with ration points and described V-shaped matzoh made for Passover.<sup>32</sup> While women were to provide their families with nutritious meals daily, they were also expected, as part of their patriotic duty, to avoid hoarding food or buying on the black market. Baltimore women received the wartime pamphlet, “Housewives Have Battle Stations Too,” which warned that their “alert” included fighting against black markets. In truth, everyone found the black market hard to resist. People traded or gave away unused coffee or sugar ration points or persuaded the butcher to sell them a few extra pork chops for an amount above the government-mandated ceiling prices that aimed to curb inflation. Women felt compelled to abide by the propaganda warning them to keep their families healthy. Real concern for their family’s physical and mental well-being often meant breaking the rules.<sup>33</sup>

Baltimore women were involved in all kinds of war-related activities. The women of the Zion Lutheran Church met on Wednesdays to knit and sew for the Red Cross. Every Saturday night the church was one of many to open its basement for soldiers who needed a place to sleep. Members of the Mothers’ Class prepared and served breakfast every Sunday morning to the visitors. Jewish women’s organizations sponsored Saturday night dances and provided Jewish military men on leave places to stay in Baltimore. Other ethnic groups joined in the war effort. The Greek community held many fund raisers for Greek relief as well as for U.S. bond drives. To help those in war-torn China, women from Baltimore’s small Chinese-American community collected money outside of such movie theaters as the Century, Keith’s, and the Hippodrome.<sup>34</sup>

Black women also kept busy with their own circle of wartime activities. The Baltimore *Sun* noted that “Negro women . . . have made strides in knitting, sewing, home nursing and first-aid work.”<sup>35</sup> Mrs. Lillian Jordan was honored for having completed more than four thousand hours of community service, many as director of the Gold Street Club, the war service center for black servicemen on leave. There soldiers could get a Sunday breakfast and a buffet supper, “and they are very good, too,” Jordan pointed out, “because we have any number of fine cooks.” Serving over 250 men per day—350 on weekends—the Gold Street Club put on plays, sponsored dances, and brought in male choruses to sing spirituals and other songs for the servicemen’s entertainment. Black women led a successful fund-raising campaign to raise money for the much-needed new Negro YWCA. Women attended cooking classes for tips on wartime food preparation and referred to the Baltimore *Afro-American’s* women’s page, “The Feminine Front,” for advice on





Baltimore women and girls were involved in all kinds of war-related activities. These Hamilton Junior High School students solicited donations of canned goods. (Maryland Historical Society.)

blackout curtains, rationing, and nutrition information. But many black women bemoaned the fact that their talents and energies were being wasted because of discrimination. A cartoon in the *Afro-American* shows a dark-skinned woman talking to Uncle Sam beneath a sign reading: "Wanted at once, 30,000 nurses, white only." Uncle Sam declares, "I'm going to win this war." The woman replies, "You could do it quicker if you used everybody."<sup>36</sup>

Although women of all kinds faced discrimination because of their gender, black women suffered the greatest indignities: of being turned away from shopping at Hutzlers or Lexington Market, of being denied a meal in a downtown coffee shop or restaurant, or of being kept from using public toilets. Black women were mainly restricted to low-paying work and substandard housing. Black women (and men) in much greater proportion than white women faced poverty and unemployment.<sup>37</sup> While many white women could not find decent housekeepers during the war, most black women could not find decent housing or schooling for their children. Baltimore's physical landscape proved the extent of this racial discrimination, for practically all of the city's war-related activities and institutions concerning women were segregated. White women could take their children to twenty-seven of Maryland's thirty-five day care centers; only eight took African Americans. Black and white women attended separate classes on home preservation of food. Community canning centers in Pikesville, Cockeysville, and Towson were open only to

whites, while there were no known such centers for black women in the city. Although the city offered canning classes, city officials decided they did not have enough money for a canning center. Baltimoreans labored in segregated community victory garden plots—although one, a daring experiment, was divided in half, with one side for black gardeners and the other for whites. Black and white women volunteered in separate recreational centers for soldiers. Although some blacks were air raid wardens (but never supervisors), they were trained separately from whites. The *Afro-American* quickly pointed out the senselessness of abruptly dismissing nine black men and women from an air raid training course simply because they had mistakenly been put in a “whites only” course. Black trainees, the paper dryly added, “didn’t feel that discrimination was necessary since bombs aren’t particular whether they fall on colored or white homes.”<sup>38</sup> Black women served as block captains in the Baltimore Block Brigade, a volunteer women’s organization, but only in black neighborhoods. Only white women were invited to be members of the city’s Civilian Mobilization Committee.<sup>39</sup> “There is one general attitude that prevailed,” one black woman recalled, “and that was the exclusion of Negroes from many important planning groups in the city. It would be more accurate to state that Negroes were not included; the difference being that there may not have been an attempt to exclude them but an unawareness of the need for having them represented in the group.”<sup>40</sup>

Although wartime Baltimore was still a Jim Crow city, there were signs of declining segregation by race and gender. The demands of the war allowed both black and white women to enter an expanded arena of acceptable activity, a broadening—though slowly and haltingly—of not only the physical spaces once deemed appropriate only for white men but a widening mental acceptance as well. Black women experienced this expansion mainly in the workplace, while white women felt it in the social arena, as well. What were once “male” public spaces were being entered into and challenged by women. A *Sun* journalist noted: “Women who never ventured out at night without a man sally forth in twos and threes without a qualm. Late movies have large feminine audiences.” Another noted that “shy, introspective women whose lives previously have been bounded by the four walls of their homes go out and do a splendid job as lieutenants and block captains.” Because of the shortage of men, the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra for the first time employed women musicians. Women dominated the staff of the Walters Art Gallery, and a woman served as the director of the Baltimore Museum of Art.<sup>41</sup>

Whether employed in a wartime factory or cooking a hearty soup at home, the war allowed, or required, both black and white women to be viewed similarly as symbols of “what this country is fighting for,” embodiments of all that was right and good in America.<sup>42</sup> Mothers in particular were characterized as symbols of American freedom, and in Baltimore signs of this sainthood were everywhere. An *Afro-American* illustration of a haloed woman, a photo of a young man in uniform at her side, is titled with the well-worn aphorism, “God Couldn’t Be Everywhere, So He Created Mothers.”<sup>43</sup> Baltimore’s Midnight Lunch Committee, groups of church women who prepared box lunches for departing soldiers, “played mom to recruits”

according to one reporter, who noted that soldiers “probably relish the lunches more because they are packed voluntarily by groups of kind, busy housewives who easily might be ‘mom.’” The Navy Mothers Club met regularly to visit sailors in hospitals and sponsor dances and teas for Navy men on leave. A black woman with six sons in the military was honored by the *Afro-American*, and churches and synagogues all over the city honored such women on Mother’s Day for the sacrifices they made and the symbols they were. Baltimore’s Zion Lutheran Church, for example, celebrated Rose Sunday, “in Honor of Zion’s Sons in the Service.” On this day the pastor presented a rose to every woman who had a son or husband in the military.<sup>44</sup> By invoking this realm of motherhood, the war made black and white women equal, but only in abstraction and in relation to the military men who were held up in even higher esteem. Indeed, as women worked outside the home in larger numbers, it became more important to preserve women’s primary role as wives and mothers. For many, a traditional family structure symbolized national strength and security.<sup>45</sup>



The dramatic increase in industrial output and the acute shortage of workers meant that women and African Americans, two groups previously thought unfit for skilled, well-paying work, would now be considered, albeit grudgingly, as candidates for defense jobs. Although there was plenty of ambivalence about mothers with young children taking outside work, officials in charge of worker mobilization reminded Baltimore women that it was a woman’s duty to take a war job. In response to government requests, major firms in 1941 lifted bans on hiring married women. “Women Gradually Taking Places of Men In Industry,” the *Evening Sun* noted in September of the same year, a “tendency” they reported that “is on the increase.”<sup>46</sup> To encourage employers to hire more minorities and women, a campaign known as the Baltimore Plan was launched. The plan persuaded reluctant companies to regard women and blacks as available, capable workers. “Women are now being hired in the shops and as crane operators at the shipyards,” the report noted, “but so far neither employers nor union officials are convinced on the chance of employing them in these ways. . . . The weather and the men out there are both pretty rough,” one manager observed. “It might work but I’m pretty skeptical right now.”<sup>47</sup>

When shortages became severe enough, however, businesses actively recruited white women (in many cases preferred to black men and women), even going so far as to enlist women door-to-door. The city began a recruitment campaign in 1943 to urge women to take war jobs.<sup>48</sup> There were few recruits, and by January of 1944 the *Sun* was reporting the campaign as “a failure so far.” Women were reluctant to take on a full time war job, in large part because of the strict division of housework according to gender. Husbands and some wives felt it improper for men to perform duties solely defined as women’s. Of the women questioned, many said their husbands objected because there would be no one to serve the evening meal. Some

women said they could not find anyone to take over their laundry. Many women who did take war jobs showed a preference for white-collar and clerical work.<sup>49</sup>

Despite such reluctance, significant numbers of Baltimore women, primarily from the working class, expressed great interest in paid employment. During this period the percentage of women working outside the home in Baltimore increased from a prewar average of 17 percent to 26 percent. Women employed in government jobs almost doubled, and the number employed in manufacturing tripled.<sup>50</sup> One could perhaps trace the success of women in the wartime job market by virtue of another, reverse statistic: As early as 1941, Baltimore experienced a 38 percent annual increase in the number of petitions for divorce filed. Nationally, the divorce rate for women aged fifteen and older rose from 8.8 per thousand in 1940 to 14.4 per thousand by 1945.<sup>51</sup> At any rate, in April 1944 the *Baltimore Sun* reported that 67,000, or two out of every seven war workers, were women. Women replaced 11,000 of the 14,000 jobs lost to the men entering the military and other jobs.<sup>52</sup> Most often, women working outside the home did so less out of patriotism than out of need. The Women's Bureau found that 64 percent of working women used earnings for family expenses, rather than as extra spending money. More than 90 percent living in family groups "contributed systematically to family upkeep."<sup>53</sup> World War II fixed permanently in Americans' minds the image of Rosie the Riveter, the woman clad in overalls and snood who welded airplane parts and ran complex machinery in what were formerly all-male heavy industries. Baltimore had its share of such Rosies. Generally these women in non-traditional occupations liked their work, and they certainly liked the high wages. One woman, a coal miner's wife from West Virginia, viewed her job as a significant improvement over her former poverty. A Baltimore woman working on the assembly line at the Bendix Friez Company remarked: "I love my job and I hate the idea of giving it up. Sometimes I can hardly wait to get there. Never thought I could do such exacting work—and I'm real proud."<sup>54</sup>

It was an adjustment for nearly everyone to see women in traditionally masculine professions. Employers often did not know what to do with the women they hired. Women security guards at Bendix toted not guns but riding crops, their main duty being to act as tour guides. All companies considered it important to maintain women workers' "femininity." The newspaper at Martin Aircraft, *The Martin Star*, included a women's page with beauty tips for women employees. One issue informed women how they could fix nourishing lunches for themselves and their husbands, so "that he could be head man on the production line."<sup>55</sup> In order to disrupt traditional gender roles as little as possible, women in such jobs received mixed signals. Women workers were to be industrious, hard-working, and independent, but at the same time, feminine, weak, and dependent. They should take on extra war work in the name of patriotism, but should not forget their place in society, or neglect the cooking, cleaning, and laundry for the family. The result was that women felt overburdened with work both in and outside the home. Rarely if ever did the government or media advise men to take up a share of the housework and child rearing; such a pronouncement would have disturbed gender roles.



A female worker tests leaded cable at the Point Breeze Works of the Western Electric Company. (Maryland Historical Society.)

As a result of their war work, women also faced the dilemma of child care. Because they could not find reliable help, women workers had high absentee and quitting rates. Baltimore, with 145,000 women in the labor force by late 1942, relied on only eighteen WPA centers and a few charity-run private nurseries.<sup>56</sup> Only a handful of companies provided on-site day care, and city officials shied from the child-care issue. The Lanham Act, the only federal measure advocating day care for working mothers, was a feeble attempt to address this grave problem. By 1944 only five extended school centers for school-age children existed in the city. A Baltimore survey of working mothers revealed only 5 percent took their children to nursery schools. For child care more than half relied on older children, or occasionally husbands, but most often another female relative. Another 15 percent made no arrangements, leaving children at home on their own or on city playgrounds while they worked. One black maid at a Baltimore hotel relied on her eight-year-old niece to watch her children; her salary of \$14 a week left no surplus to meet the public center's \$3 weekly fee per child.<sup>57</sup>

African-American women, even more so than black men, sometimes found it difficult to find high-paying war work. Three Baltimore shipyards, including Bethlehem-Fairfield, refused to hire Hazel Coates and Margaret Ruffine, both of whom had completed acetylene burning and welding training courses. As late as June

1944 the *Evening Sun* reported that two other qualified black women, Mrs. Evelyn E. Ranson and Mrs. Ophelia Drummond, had been unable to find war work for six months. The Baltimore Urban League called on the U.S. Employment Service to investigate these and similar cases of discrimination.<sup>58</sup> Yet production demands and labor shortages ultimately enabled black women to get jobs from which they had been traditionally excluded. In 1941 the Druid Hill YWCA reported a slight trend at the end of the year that "women were gradually being taken into defense industries." It also noted an increase of women in government jobs. Glenn L. Martin Aircraft and Western Electric began hiring black women for clerical positions, and by 1943 black women began replacing men in such firms as the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company. Many young teachers were able to find immediate employment because of teacher shortages as well.<sup>59</sup>

Because of severe labor shortages, those black females working as domestics (85 percent of all wage-earning black women in 1940) saw their wages double during the war and their weekly work hours drop. Even so, black women in droves abandoned domestic work for more dignified and higher paying war work. During the war the number of blacks working as domestics dropped by half. The Druid Hill YWCA's Blue Triangle Club noted that in 1941 90 percent of its members were household employees. By September of 1942 only one-third of these women were still doing domestic work.<sup>60</sup> Some of the former domestics may have regretted the choice, for companies offering black men and women employment often stuck them in their firms' dirtiest and most dangerous positions. The Pennsylvania Railroad hired black women as street cleaners, a job previously filled by white men. One Baltimore black woman was hired at the Edgewood Arsenal at \$18 a week to lift 55-pound boxes of explosives all day.<sup>61</sup>

In any event, as more women both black and white worked outside the home, integration in workplaces slowly increased. Greater integration gave blacks and whites chances to meet on more equal ground, at least for those who performed blue and pink collar types of work. An *Evening Sun* article noticed: "Formerly Mr. Miller's restaurant employed only men in the dining room and the kitchen except for a few white women who helped wash the dishes. Now it hires white and colored women to clean, shell peas and beans and boil and pick lobsters, and take other scullery jobs off the hands of the hard-worked kitchen staff."<sup>62</sup> A photo accompanying a *Sun* article shows black and white women "uniformed in gingham and galoshes" working side by side in a cannery. The writer takes care to point out the similarities of the two groups:

In the aura of steam, noise and sweat, hundreds of Baltimore women daily help win the war the hard way in canneries, where they talk of soldier-sailor sons, earn up to and over \$15 a day and valiantly aid in feeding the world. . . . Scarcely one of the women was without some relative in the service. White or colored workers were the same. They were buying bonds; their husbands were in the shipyards or some other industrial plants. There were those with one service son, two sons, three or four—either in domestic or foreign camps.<sup>63</sup>



With women entering the workforce in record numbers, day-care became an important part of community life. Here children in the pre-school center at Victory Villa take their afternoon rest. (Maryland Historical Society.)

The media and others often characterized this integration, viewed as daring and unusual for many Americans, as a new phenomenon in which men and women of different races bonded together for the common good of the country—a notion the federal government eagerly promoted among its citizens. Whether people actually felt as much unity is unknown. What is certain is that it became important to portray them this way, as men and women of different races shelving their differences in order to win the war.



As the end of the war drew closer, Baltimore's diversified economy cushioned some of the shock of the postwar wind-down. To offset drops in ship and plane building, the city had steel, electronics, textiles, and canning.<sup>64</sup> Although companies laid off large numbers of workers from wartime production, many of them were able to find similar kinds of manufacturing positions in Baltimore industries.

What happened to women and blacks in postwar Baltimore, especially those who for the first time had entered higher-paying and higher-prestige occupations? From the start officials had characterized women's war jobs as temporary, and many middle-class women returned to homemaking with pleasure. But others felt differently, and some had no choice but to remain in the workforce. Eighty-one

percent of women workers surveyed in Baltimore in 1944 planned to continue working after the war. Eighty-six percent of Baltimore women employed in manufacturing wanted to continue in the same line of work. A United Auto Workers poll at the Martin plant in Baltimore County showed that 98 percent of women wanted to keep their jobs after the war.<sup>65</sup>

Not surprisingly, as demand for wartime matériel declined and employment needs shifted, women and blacks were among the first to be laid off—regardless of how well they had performed their jobs.<sup>66</sup> Corporations used pseudo-scientific reasoning to justify firing women. A Baltimore electrical equipment plant, for instance, refused to hire women over age thirty-five on the grounds that test results indicated that their muscles stiffened after that age. Often no excuses were given. In the early postwar period the largest employer of women in the area, Martin Aircraft, increased its percentage of jobs held by men from 63 to 82 percent. Cafeteria workers at the plant saw women crying after receiving their pink slips.<sup>67</sup> Only women workers holding clerical positions kept their jobs in significant proportions. Companies firing women from high-paying positions often offered them traditional women's jobs that paid much less. In 1946 women who retained their war jobs earned \$44 a week, while those working for new employers averaged only \$31.

Full employment had defused racial tension, but the calm did not long endure in peacetime. One could easily find racial disparities in the pattern of layoffs and firings. While black men held on to some war jobs, African-American women were not as fortunate; once discharged, minority women were rarely rehired.<sup>68</sup> Emboldened by the actual and symbolic battle of World War II, postwar activists eventually forced city leaders to declare Baltimore lunch counters, movie theaters, swimming pools, tennis courts, and even schools officially integrated.

Organized calls for women's equal opportunity took longer to appear. Immediately after World War II white Americans seemed most concerned with getting their men home, restoring familiar family and household patterns, celebrating the war's victories and heroes, and forgetting loss and sadness. For white middle-class women this desire for "normalcy" helped rigidify what Betty Freidan later identified as the "feminine mystique": that a woman should be fulfilled by keeping a spotless home and caring for husband and children. If not, she was considered (and led to think of herself as) self-centered and unfeminine. The feminine mystique, however, was belied by rising divorce rates and a growing percentage of women in the workforce.<sup>69</sup>

What then was the legacy of World War II in terms of the racial and gender landscape of Baltimore and the nation in general? As suggested at the outset of the essay, progress was not immediate. Many Americans wanted to restore and maintain the status quo. But the nature of the war—against facism and the horrifying assumption of racial superiority—required that Americans reconstruct a society that was legally and mentally integrated. The wartime contributions of African-American soldiers on the battlefield, as well as those of black men and women both black and white on the homefront, meant that prewar stereotypes of racial and



gender inferiority could not remain permanently in the public mind. Too many people had wartime experiences that challenged such stereotypes. Thus, even if the war did not lead to immediate long-term transformations, the short-term alterations of World War II generated the momentum for longer-term change.

## NOTES

1. Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), p. 4.

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4. Albert J. Silverman, ed., *Baltimore, City of Promise* (Baltimore: Baltimore City Department of Education, 1953), p. 43. For general histories of Maryland and Baltimore during WWII see Harold Randall Manakee, comp., *Maryland in World War II* (4 vols.; Baltimore: War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society, 1950–58); U.S. Office of War Information, *Wartime Problems and Conditions in the City of Baltimore, Maryland* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Services, 1943), hereinafter OWI Report. See also Suzanne Ellery Greene, *Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Woodland Hills, Cal.: Windsor Publications, 1980), and, for a look at Baltimore in the 1930s, Jo Ann E. Argersinger, *Toward a New Deal in Baltimore* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

5. OWI Report, pp. 3, 6–8. By 1950 there were 225,099 blacks living in Baltimore City, an increase of 35 percent over the 1940 figure and a total of 23 percent of the total population. The white population had increased by only 4 percent during the same time. See Silverman, *Baltimore*, p. 4.

6. "Maryland's Contributions to Nation's Fight," *Baltimore Sun*, 15 August 1945.

7. OWI Report, pp. 2, 6, 8, 18–19.

8. "Statistical Tables, Baltimore Area," 30 October 1944, box 162, Labor Market Surveys, Records of U.S. Employment Services, RG 183, National Archives (hereinafter NA), quoted in Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 26.

9. OWI Report, pp. 1, 3.
10. Maryland Council of Defense, 5 June 1941, Defense, Vertical File, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore (hereinafter EPFL); OWI Report, p. 1.
11. Boxes 74 and 75, Ms. 2010, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore (hereinafter MdHS); *Toward Equality: Baltimore's Progress Report* (Baltimore: Sidney Hollander Foundation, 1960); *Sun*, 5 March 1943.
12. Andy Razaf, "Super-American," *Baltimore Afro-American*, 24 March 1943.
13. Roderick N. Ryon, "An Ambiguous Legacy: Baltimore Blacks and the CIO, 1936-1941," *Journal of Negro History*, 65 (Winter 1980): 19, 23.
14. *Afro-American*, 24 January 1942; Statement Prepared by Frank J. Bender, Maryland Regional Director, Congress of Industrial Organization, for the House Committee Investigating National Defense Migration (Baltimore, Md.), 77th Congress, National Defense Migration Hearings, Part 15, Baltimore Hearings, July 1 and 2, 1941, EPFL; Earl Brown, "American Negroes and the War," *Harper's Magazine*, 4 April 1942.
15. Brugger, *Maryland*, p. 532; *Sun*, 20 February 1943.
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17. Eleanor Brady, "Well-known No. 8802," *Manpower Review*, 10 (December 1943): 5.
18. Argersinger, *Toward a New Deal*, pp. 6-7; Elizabeth Fee, "Evergreen House and the Garrett Family: A Railroad Fortune," in Elizabeth Fee, Linda Shopes, Linda Zeidman, eds., *The Baltimore Book* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), p. 33. See also 1940 YWCA International Report, Esther C. Stamets, Annual Descriptive Report of the Executive Secretary, 1941, Records of the Young Women's Christian Association, YWCA Archive, Baltimore (hereinafter YWCA Archive). "Suspicion, intolerance, fear, lack of understanding, and insecurity," the 1941 YWCA report acknowledged, "are the factors involved in creating strains, and tensions among nationality groups or directed toward them."
19. OWI Report, pp. 1, 15; *Evening Sun*, 21 October 1942.
20. *Sun*, 30 July 1943; 1942 Druid Hill YWCA Annual Report, "The Community," YWCA Archive.
21. Wilmer H. Schulze, Director, Sanitary Section, Baltimore City Health Department, "Housing as a Public Health Responsibility," *Bulletin of the School of Medicine, University of Maryland*, 29 (January 1945): 130, 133 (reprinted in the Baltimore City Health Department Collected Papers II, 1940-1944, pp. 130-34, EPFL).
22. OWI Report, p. 16; "Preliminary Report, Baltimore Area," box 4, U.S. Office of Community War Service, Community Reports, RG 215, NA (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 80); Druid Hill 1942 Annual Report.
23. *Afro-American*, 24 July 1943.
24. *Ibid.* A note of sarcasm was brought into the housing protest demonstration by the Reverend John J. Donlan of St. Dominic's Catholic Church, one of the three clergymen who protested the Herring Run site. Father Donlan said: "I have two colored sextons and two colored housekeepers, and I suppose if we lose out after

protesting this site, I shall have to appeal to this group on my knees for housekeepers and sextons."

25. Theodore Roberts, Jr., to the editor, *ibid.*, 24 March 1942.

26. *Evening Sun*, 29 November 1943.

27. *Afro-American*, 4 December 1943. Not only were the findings distorted, but they were were premature, since the first neighborhood surveyed was indeed one of the best, and thus misrepresented actual average conditions. The *Sun* agreed that "to show a true picture of Negro housing in this town, we should have to include much worse neighborhoods than this one" (*Sun*, 1 December 1943).

28. "Dr. Fales Denies Compiling Data on Housing," box 74, Ms. 2010, MdHS.

29. Eliza Heyward, "Changes on Home Front Bring Volunteers New Tasks," *ibid.*, 26 September 1942.

30. 1 January 1942 entry, Frances C. Semmes diaries, 1942-43, Ms. 1673, MdHS.

31. 13 March 1943 entry, *ibid.*

32. "Consumer General Interests" scrapbook, box 37, Ms. 2010, MdHS; *Evening Sun*, 12 and 30 December 1942; *Sun*, 18 January 1943; *Baltimore Jewish Times*, 20 March 1942, 12 and 26 March 1943.

33. U.S. Civilian Service Corps, box 73, Ms. 2010, MdHS; *Sun*, 23 October 1942. See also Richard Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?: The American Home Front, 1941-1945* (New York: G.B. Putnam's Sons, 1979), p. 247.

34. Zion Lutheran Church, box 118, Ms. 2010, MdHS; Rachel Frank Skutch, *History of the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations of Maryland: 1916-1961* (Baltimore: Jewish Historical Society, 1962), pp. 48-49; box 141, Ms. 2010, MdHS.

35. *Sun*, 23 November 1941.

36. *Evening Sun*, 15 December 1944; *Afro-American*, 13 March 1943.

37. "In April 1940 approximately 24.8 percent of the registered unemployed were colored workers; but by April 1941, during the first year of the defense program, the proportion of Negroes in the registered unemployed labor reserve had increased to 29.8 percent of the whole." Baltimore figures were 32 percent of total in April 1949; by 1941 they had risen to 34.3 percent (Brown, "American Negroes and the War").

38. *Evening Sun*, 7 December 1943 and 11 February and 27 July 1944; *Baltimore: Guide for Newcomers* (November 1943), boxes 72 and 74, Ms. 2010, MdHS; "Minutes, Baltimore Nutrition Committee," box 71, *ibid.*; *Afro-American*, 11 April 1942.

39. Even then, white women had to fight to maintain their positions. For example, after Pearl Harbor the Maryland Council of Defense tried to transfer some civilian defense duties from women to men. Women council members, including Mrs. John L. Whitehurst, chair of the Baltimore County Women's Committee, resigned in protest. See Manakee, *Maryland in World War II*, 3:182. There was one black man, the Reverend A. J. Payne, on the committee, but his actual duties were unclear.

40. 1941 Annual Report of the Druid Hill YWCA, YWCA Archive.

41. *Sun*, 27 December 1942 and 7 February 1943.

42. Women were also identified as part of the private domain of democratic obligation which necessarily compels members of a liberal polity such as the United States to fight wars. See Robert B. Westbrook, "I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl

That Married Henry James': American Women and the Problem of Democratic Obligation in World War II," *American Quarterly*, 42 (1990): 587-614.

43. *Afro-American*, 13 May 1944.

44. *Sun*, 10 November 1943; *Afro-American*, 6 May 1944; Zion Lutheran Church, Ms. 2010, box 118, MdHS.

45. Susan M. Hartmann, "The War Women Fought But Didn't Win," paper presented at "The American Home Front during World War II" conference, Indiana University, Bloomington, 19 October 1991.

46. Argersinger, *Toward a New Deal*, p. 9; *Evening Sun*, 3 April and 27 September 1941.

47. OWI Report, p. 13.

48. *Evening Sun*, 3 April 1941; *Sun*, 21 October 1943; OWI report, p. 13.

49. *Sun*, 8 January 1944; OWI Report, p. 13.

50. Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 91. While women employed in manufacturing went up 141 percent, those in domestic work correspondingly decreased by 20 percent. The percentage of women employed in manufacturing went from 22 to 32.7 percent of the total workforce. See U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Bulletin No. 211, *Employment of Women in the Early Postwar Period with Background of Prewar and War Data* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 10-11; Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 209, *Women Workers in Ten War Production Areas and their Postwar Employment Plans* (Washington, D.C., 1946), pp. 37-38 (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 6).

51. *Baltimore Sun*, 3 Jan. 1942; Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 83.

52. *Sun*, 7 April 1944.

53. "General Comments of Workers, Baltimore, Maryland," box 234, Unpublished Materials, Records of the Women's Bureau, RG 86, NA (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, pp. 29-30).

54. Quoted in Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 63.

55. *Martin Star*, July 1943 (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, pp. 43, 60).

56. 21 April 1943 memo from Katherine Lenroot to James Brunot, box 6, Children's Care Division, Records of the Office of Community War Services, RG 215, NA (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, pp. 125-26.)

57. *Evening Sun*, 9 July 1943; Women's Bureau Bulletin, No. 209 (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, pp. 144-45).

58. Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 38; *Afro-American*, 17 April 1943; *Evening Sun*, 9 June 1944.

59. 1941 Druid Hill YWCA Report; Druid Hill YWCA 1942 Business and Professional Department Report; 1943 Madison Avenue YWCA Branch Report, YWCA Archive.

60. Argersinger, *Toward a New Deal*, p. 8. See also *Afro-American*, 18 December 1943; 1942 Annual Report, Druid Hill Industrial Department, YWCA Archive; box 142, Ms. 2010, MdHS.

61. See Anderson, *Wartime Women*, p. 39.

62. *Evening Sun*, 10 June 1943.

63. *Sun*, 26 August 1943.

64. "Labor Market Developments Report, Baltimore," November 1945, box 162, Labor Market Surveys, Records of U.S. Bureau Employment Service, RG 183, NA (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, pp. 159–60).

65. Anderson, *Wartime Women*, P. 163; *Sun*, 17 August 1945; *Evening Sun*, 20 August 1945.

66. Milkman convincingly argues that in many cases women were more dedicated to their work and performed their jobs better than men. Nevertheless, even if they had seniority, they were fired to make room for the hiring of more men (Milkman, *Gender at Work*, pp. 10, 129, *passim*).

67. "Baltimore Women War Workers in the Postwar Period," Records of the Women's Bureau Division of Research, RG 86, NA (see Anderson, *Wartime Women*, pp. 171–72, 166); Milkman, *Gender at Work*, p. 118; *Evening Sun*, 22 August 1945.

68. *Sun*, 18 August 1945.

69. Betty Freidan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1963).

# Wings Over Hagerstown: Experiencing the Second World War in Western Maryland

CHRISTOPHER SHANK

**L**ike most wars, World War II has captured most attention as a subject in military history. Scholars have devoted relatively little attention to the study of how the war affected American communities. To be sure (and despite occasional invasion scares), Americans on the homefront did not experience the war's full impact. They did, however, undertake enormous industrial expansion and—especially in communities with war-related industries—feel the full brunt of that rapid, wartime growth.

The story of Fairchild Aircraft Corporation and its place in the experience of wartime Hagerstown, Maryland, serves as an example of how the war affected many mid-sized American communities.<sup>1</sup> Remarkably enough, one finds the continuities even more striking than the changes. Although Fairchild had an extensive social and economic impact on the city of Hagerstown during the war years and later, the community did not undergo massive change such as the war visited on boom towns like Baltimore. Hagerstown thus offers a case study of a medium-sized, conservative community successfully resisting the disruptions that wartime expansion carried with it.<sup>2</sup>



Until World War II, the Fairchild Aircraft Corporation employed only about two hundred local residents of Hagerstown, a quiet Western Maryland city located seventy miles west of Baltimore. After winning a contract in 1939 to build PT-19 trainer planes for the army air corps, Fairchild employment accelerated swiftly. By 1943 the corporation employed over 8,300 workers. The company produced five thousand of its PT-19 trainer planes during the war and licensed another three thousand to other firms. Starting with one sixty-thousand-square-foot facility in 1939, the company expanded to thirty plants around the city of Hagerstown totaling by the end of the war one million square feet of floor space. During peak production,

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Mr. Shank, a Hagerstown native and senior at Johns Hopkins University, began work on this essay as a third-year research project.



The rapid growth of the Fairchild Aircraft Corporation in Hagerstown played a major role in the lives of the community's residents—during peak production 80 percent of the city's work force labored for either Fairchild or one of its subcontractors. Here the plant proudly flies the Army-Navy "E" pennant for war production achievement and the Treasury Department's "Minuteman" flag for an outstanding war bond program. (Maryland Historical Society.)

80 percent of the city's work force labored either for Fairchild or one of its subcontractors.<sup>3</sup>

Selig Altschul, an aviation consultant hired by Fairchild in 1950 to analyze the company's market share in the aircraft industry, characterized prewar Hagerstown as a "settled, conservative community."<sup>4</sup> With a 1940 population of 32,491, the city served as the county seat for Washington County (1940 population of 68,838).<sup>5</sup> Of those, 97 percent were born in the United States. African Americans represented 2.6 percent of the city's residents.<sup>6</sup> In the surrounding county were small, agrarian communities with a population of 12,505.<sup>7</sup> The Baltimore and Ohio and Western

Maryland railroads provided good service and considerable traffic through the city. Two main east-west and north-south traffic arteries, U.S. Routes 40 and 11, crossed paths in Hagerstown. A small, municipal airport put the city on air traffic routes as well.

Hagerstown's pre-war manufacturers included several light-industrial, locally owned, family businesses. Pipe organs, blast-furnace cleaning machinery, shoes, and furniture were the area's principal products. Airplanes appeared near the end of Hagerstown's list of manufactures.<sup>8</sup> A shoe-making factory dominated the local pay scales. The area had a reputation for skilled workers, craftsmen, and mechanics. Small garages and workshops were scattered throughout the city. These last two factors would have a direct influence on the emergence of Fairchild.

Ammon H. Kreider and Lewis E. Reisner had established the nucleus of the Fairchild Aircraft Corporation in 1925 at a small plant on Pennsylvania Avenue at the north end of the city. From this facility, they produced their famous Challenger biplanes and ran a private flying service from a runway behind the plant. Kreider and Reisner enjoyed a reputation in the aircraft industry as a capable and efficient operation.<sup>9</sup> In their peak year of 1928 they produced a total of 111 aircraft and employed 365 men.<sup>10</sup> The company maintained a relatively stable niche in Hagerstown commerce during the 1920s but required capital and additional space in order to expand.<sup>11</sup>

At this point in late 1928, one man's involvement with Kreider and Reisner changed it forever, largely determining the company's future wartime role. Sherman Fairchild, son of the first president and chairman of the board of International Business Machines Corporation, wanted to create a network of aviation companies, much like General Motors in the automobile industry. The *New Yorker* called him the "world's leading authority of aerial photography." He refused an offer to take over IBM from his father because he wanted to make his own mark in the aircraft industry.<sup>12</sup> Fairchild, who knew and respected Ammon Kreider, needed an airframe manufacturer to build the planes for his Ranger engines produced in Farmingdale, New York. Kreider and Reisner saw the opportunity to expand and arranged to become an autonomous subsidiary to Fairchild. They completed negotiations on 9 April 1929.<sup>13</sup>

The new company got off to a rocky start. The Great Depression badly hurt sales. Kreider-Reisner output fell to a trickle. The workforce alternated between fifteen to twenty during this period, often consisting of farm workers hired after they completed the fall harvest.<sup>14</sup> In 1933 the company threatened to leave for Florida unless the city provided better landing facilities. Several years earlier, Kreider and Reisner had requested Hagerstown to build them a new landing strip at the municipal airport, but the city refused. The sod runways and the small hangar at the municipal field were inadequate even for Fairchild's Depression operations. The city government finally agreed to undertake improvements at the airport. The federal Works Progress Administration subsidized 85 percent of the funding and the labor, while Hagerstown paid for 15 percent of the undertaking.<sup>15</sup> The new



airport now had hard-surface runways and a larger hangar. Hagerstown leased the airfield to Fairchild, enticing the company to remain.

On 16 May 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt announced to the nation his ambitious goal to build fifty thousand new airplanes to bolster the country's defenses. His speech caught the aircraft industry completely unprepared. In 1937, twenty-four thousand industry employees in the country turned out a mere 3,100 aircraft.<sup>16</sup> In order to meet such a challenge, existing airplane manufacturers had to increase their production dramatically. Armand Theiblot, an engineer for Fairchild, secured the company's role in this expansion by designing what would become the Fairchild PT-19 trainer plane.

The PT-19 boasted several features that made it a revolutionary trainer. First, it consisted of largely non-strategic materials (spruce and plywood bonded to plastic); it required only two hundred pounds of aluminum per plane.<sup>17</sup> Its monoplane design gave trainees a better feel for the combat planes they eventually would fly than did the biplanes the air corps earlier had used. The airplane "was designed to look, feel, and fly like tactical types then in service—with one exception." Its wing design helped to eliminate premature stalling, allowing novice pilots to avoid the "stall-spin accident." Unlike other trainer planes, Thieblot's design utilized a "tufted wing" that gave trainees more time to recover from a potentially fatal dive.<sup>18</sup> During the summer of 1939, Fairchild entered the PT-19 in an army air corps competition at Wright Field, Ohio. Realizing the threat of the German Luftwaffe, the army was already expanding its air arm. Air corps planners desperately needed additional pilots and planes in which to train them. Fairchild's innovative PT-19 won the competition, and the army ordered 270 trainers.<sup>19</sup> This contract represented over \$1.5 million for the struggling Fairchild Corporation; the largest previous order had totalled only twenty planes.<sup>20</sup>

In a space of several months, Fairchild found itself producing three PT-19s per day and licensing four other U.S. and Canadian corporations to manufacture them. Fairchild also won a sub-contract from Glenn L. Martin (Maryland's largest aviation manufacturer) to construct wing panels for the firm's French and British bombers and PBM-3 flying boats for the U.S. Navy. In addition, Fairchild continued production of its own F-24 utility-cargo plane. Before the war, this plane saw widespread service throughout the world.<sup>21</sup> After the outbreak of hostilities, the air forces of Brazil, Great Britain, and the United States all placed orders for the plane as a personnel carrier, which the air corps designated the UC-61. Fairchild ultimately delivered over one thousand of them.<sup>22</sup>

Like other aircraft manufacturers throughout the nation, Fairchild before the war enjoyed surplus plant capacity but lacked sufficient manpower.<sup>23</sup> By September 1940 (about one year after the PT-19 contract), Fairchild corrected this problem and tripled its labor force to more than one thousand employees. Soon afterward the existing plant capacity at the original Kreider and Reisner factory no longer sufficed. By October 1940 Fairchild management agreed to the expansion of its manufacturing capability beyond the original Pennsylvania Avenue site.<sup>24</sup> Manufacturers around the nation undertook expansion of this sort reluctantly, fearing the burden

of excess, unused plants after the defense build-up.<sup>25</sup> In response, the federal government instituted the Defense Plant Corporation program (DPC). Under this system, the government built and owned the new manufacturing plant, leasing it to the corporation. At war's end the manufacturer would have first option on buying the facility. After agreeing to participate in the DPC program, Fairchild broke ground on its second plant, adjacent to the municipal airport, in late 1940. A Baltimore construction company completed the massive 671,000-square-foot building on 23 August 1941. This new facility became known as Plant #2A.<sup>26</sup>

Even with the addition of Plant #2A, Fairchild required additional space. The corporation needed a dependable system of warehouses to store its diverse range of raw materials, as well as additional assembly space. Fairchild's delivery schedule, however, could not accommodate the down-time required to build beyond Plant #2A.<sup>27</sup> After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the War Department ordered the nation's defense manufacturers to utilize all existing industrial facilities in their area. Fairchild settled on a resourceful scheme for procuring the needed space quickly and at low cost. It also proved beneficial to the community.

Instead of constructing new plants, Fairchild leased existing buildings from businesses that faced cuts in their production due to wartime restrictions on consumer goods. Fairchild surveyed local Hagerstown firms and found many closing; skilled laborers from these less critical industries also faced imminent lay-offs. Despite the dramatic boom at Fairchild, Hagerstown in early 1942 wavered on the brink of economic ruin. Fairchild's remedy for the city's economic crisis entailed the conversion of the majority of the town's industrial capacity for the production of its planes. Company executives dubbed the program the "Hagerstown System." The company focused on expediency instead of efficiency and the conversion of existing space rather than new construction. A traditional assembly line system under one roof, for example, would have eliminated the need for the system of inter-plant delivery routes that Fairchild had to develop.<sup>28</sup> According to company reports, "the diffusion of plants and accompanying control offices has been a severe handicap to the maintenance of effective planning and control."<sup>29</sup> In order to deliver planes on time, however, Fairchild needed to make the best use of existing community resources.

Under the Hagerstown System, Fairchild leased buildings at a low cost that could be converted into usable space virtually overnight. The company leased 44 percent of its plants from local owners. It eventually operated a network of twenty-nine buildings, consisting of the main facility at the airport, several garages and car dealerships, a former hosiery mill, a private residence, the local Odd Fellow Hall, the horticultural exhibition hall at the county fairgrounds, and numerous others totalling one million square feet of floor space. Fairchild executives pointed out that these buildings could be easily reconverted to peaceful pursuits.<sup>30</sup> Hagerstown, unlike other communities, would not have sprawling, but probably empty, industrial buildings after the war; in Hagerstown non-defense businesses shut down by the war managed to survive, and in most cases, improve their financial condition. Most

importantly Fairchild production continued on schedule, and the army received their PT-19s and UC-61s on time.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the extensive use of local facilities, Fairchild also sub-contracted a great deal of work to local firms, many of which also faced lay-offs or cut-backs in production from wartime restrictions. Hagerstown's Moller Organ Works offered the best example of the conversion process. Before the war Moller employees crafted world-renowned pipe organs. In February of 1942, however, the federal government declared the company non-essential to the war effort and halted its production. Instead of shutting down for the war, the company won a contract from Fairchild to fabricate wooden wings and tail sections for the PT-19. Moller and Fairchild converted the plant and re-trained the employees in a matter of two weeks. The company actually enlarged its payroll from 185 employees to 1,200. Quite dramatically, its sales multiplied from under \$20,000 in 1941 to \$2,872,201 in 1943.<sup>32</sup>

In 1944 sixty local firms worked on sub-contracts for Fairchild, employing thirty thousand Hagerstown residents. Foltz Manufacturing and Supply Company, Brandt Cabinet Works, Statton Furniture Manufacturing Company, and numerous other local Hagerstown establishments participated in some way.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, 52 percent of all maintenance and operations expenditures by Fairchild went to local merchants. In 1943 this figure totalled over one million dollars.<sup>34</sup> During the peak war years 90 percent of the city's manufacturing capacity turned out products for Fairchild.<sup>35</sup> Sub-contractors reported some problems in adjusting to the new products. Despite problems of inefficiency, however, the Hagerstown system and Fairchild's subcontractors performed the job quickly and averted large-scale local unemployment.

The second, even more consequential result of the Hagerstown System was its effect on the local population. Fairchild did not have to import a large, transient labor force, because it already had access to an idle group waiting for work. Ninety-five percent of Fairchild employees came from within a twenty-mile radius of Hagerstown.<sup>36</sup> Company officials hoped "to confine all employment possible to city and county residents and avoid bringing in strangers who likely would be stranded here after the war."<sup>37</sup> Most workers either commuted to town or moved in from the surrounding country.<sup>38</sup> Compared to other war-boom communities in the nation, employment at Fairchild created minimal demographic stress. Hagerstown thus experienced relatively modest growth. Between 1940 and 1950 the city's population increased by fewer than four thousand persons (11.6 percent); only 1,762 people moved into Washington County in the same decade.<sup>39</sup> This growth strained Hagerstown's resources, but it did not begin to compare to the Cecil-Harford-Baltimore County industrial area's fivefold population increase.<sup>40</sup> During its peak period of production, between 1943 and 1944, Fairchild employed directly and indirectly 80 percent of Hagerstown's working population.<sup>41</sup> During the first stages of the Fairchild expansion, employees worked swing shifts seven days a week, regularly alternating the day-time workers to the evening and night shifts. By Christmas of 1942 Fairchild realized the inefficiencies of this method. Employees

tended to take Sundays off in addition to their scheduled off days. The company reverted to a six-day work week with three regular shifts. According to Fairchild officials, this gave employees "more opportunity for group recreation and church." Maintenance also found it easier to service the machines when, on the Sabbath, the plant halted production.<sup>42</sup>

The number of Fairchild employees steadily increased and gradually changed in composition as the war progressed and the draft took its toll on the workforce. In December of 1939, Fairchild employed fewer than four hundred persons. By December 1941 that work force had expanded to nearly four thousand. In January, 1943, the company reached its peak wartime employment of more than eight thousand. During the remainder of the war, the work force hovered between six and seven thousand. In 1939 Fairchild dispensed \$400,000 in wages. By November, 1941, payroll was \$100,000 per week. In 1943 the company paid \$16,400,00 in wages, more than \$300,000 per week.

This flow of new capital affected the area both positively and negatively. Businesses absorbed by the Hagerstown System, or working on Fairchild subcontracts, prospered. Those not involved with Fairchild, however, faced stiff competition from the rapidly expanding institution. With the exception of the Glenn L. Martin contracts, nearly all of Fairchild's production went to the air corps. In effect, the federal government subsidized Fairchild wages at a level higher than the city's prewar rates.<sup>43</sup> Fairchild pay thus often lured workers away from other jobs. Farmers reported labor shortages in the surrounding counties.<sup>44</sup> Established business owners in Hagerstown disliked the upstarts at Fairchild for setting new wage rates and draining their workforces. Retail employees resented the Fairchild wage earners' buying power in their stores.<sup>45</sup> Roosevelt's cabinet feared that the newly found affluence of war workers, along with scarcity of consumer goods, would fuel inflation and encourage a black market.<sup>46</sup> The administration early in 1943 attempted to minimize this threat by issuing an executive order stabilizing all wages and salaries. The War Labor Board and Treasury Department regulated all proposed raises in the defense industries, setting maximum amounts for each particular job classification. The Fairchild employee manual duly explained these limits to new employees.<sup>47</sup> Management used a merit-rating system to allot approved salary increases.



Altschul's postwar evaluation of the Fairchild Engine and Airplane Corporation claimed that during World War II the "absence of transient workers" fostered harmonious labor relationships at Fairchild. Altschul asserted that a "well-knit and stabilized work force, drawn from a deep seated community life" made it difficult for an absentee union to impose unreasonable demands on the company.<sup>48</sup> This analysis, however, reveals only the partial story of labor organization at Fairchild. Wartime prosperity helped to preclude any large-scale work stoppages at Hagerstown, but labor relations were not as ideal as Altschul described. The United Auto

Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations (UAW-CIO) undertook a long organizational struggle in Hagerstown. In February 1942 the CIO filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board accusing Fairchild of interfering with its workers' rights to self-organization. Josef L. Hektoen, the NLRB's trial examiner, ruled that Fairchild discouraged membership in the CIO by assisting the Independent Aircraft Workers, Incorporated, a company union, on company time and property. Hektoen ordered the company to cease its interference and reinstate with back pay James Cole, a skilled carpenter fired for his organizational efforts on behalf of the CIO.<sup>49</sup>

The UAW-CIO in the late summer of 1942 defeated the International Association of Machinists and the Industrial Aircraft Workers in a NLRB-sponsored election. Subsequently 98 percent of the company's workforce signed up to join Local 842 of the UAW-CIO. During contract renegotiations in 1943 the UAW-CIO demanded that Fairchild correct inequities between their wage rates and those of the rest of the aircraft industry. Fairchild employees felt they deserved wage rates comparable to big-city aircraft manufacturers, but Fairchild refused to grant the pay increases since their employees already received the highest wages in the Western Maryland region.<sup>50</sup>

That year the armed services drafted more than one thousand male Fairchild employees (Washington County eventually sent more than seven thousand men and women into the military).<sup>51</sup> As the company approached its peak period of production, management realized the urgency of replacing the draftees quickly to avert interruptions in the company's manufacturing schedule. Fairchild employment already had depleted the male labor supply in Hagerstown and its environs. The company faced two choices: it could start importing large numbers of men from outside the area—or it could begin recruiting and hiring local women. In December 1941 only 5 percent of Fairchild's workers were female,<sup>52</sup> but a year later company officials publicly announced their intent to hire women rather than bring in strangers.<sup>53</sup> The company first had to convince women, and other members of the community, to accept the concept. Richard Boutelle, Fairchild's general manager at Hagerstown, hoped to persuade local women that they could "do more for the war effort by building airplanes than by selling hosiery, waiting on tables, or staying at home with the children."<sup>54</sup>

As early as September 1941 the local board of education offered prospective female employees training at local defense training schools. Five hundred local women joined these pre-employment courses (by comparison, Baltimore defense training schools at the same time enrolled only six hundred women).<sup>55</sup> Impressed with these female workers, the company in March of 1942 announced that women would soon constitute 50 percent of the work force. J. Carlton Ward, president of the corporation, claimed that Fairchild women employees possessed "great manual dexterity" and excelled at repetitive tasks.<sup>56</sup> Ward also claimed that female employees could utilize their homemaking experience with vacuum cleaners and washing machines towards the production of PT-19s.<sup>57</sup> In February of 1944 women employees at Fairchild reached their numerical peak, 2,756 out of 7,566 workers

(36 percent).<sup>58</sup> As the male labor pool continued to dwindle, Fairchild also hired female "guardettes" to supplement the male company security force. Thirty-eight local women formed one of the first female plant security teams in the nation. In their flashy uniforms, the guardettes policed the interior of the plant, took target practice, and supervised plant visitors.

During World War II American society increasingly found itself adjusting to new social concepts that radically departed from traditional, accepted behavior. Families began to take on a new definition, while the government began to assume conventional family functions. When industry exhausted its supply of single women by 1943, companies called upon married women.<sup>59</sup> This required dependable child care. Many could turn to neighbors or relatives, but communities and factories needed to find alternatives for those who could not. Congress offered a solution in early 1942 by passing the Lanham Act, which distributed aid to communities facing wartime disruptions. A large part of the assistance financed 3,100 day care centers serving 600,000 children across the nation.<sup>60</sup> Hagerstown's day care center under this program served the working mothers of Fairchild and the city's other industries. The company advertised the local facility in its weekly series in the local papers (*Fairchild Reports*) and in its own newspaper (*The Fad*). Mothers paid fifty cents per child, which included a hot lunch and supervised playgrounds.<sup>61</sup> At its peak in July of 1943, the center cared for seventy-five children, ages two through eleven.

Considering that Fairchild employed 2,437 female employees at the time, parents failed to utilize the center to its capacity. Fairchild offered to establish a day care center anywhere in Washington County where a minimum of fifteen parents expressed an interest.<sup>62</sup> Once again, the community expressed little interest in the company's offer. At this period in their social history, Americans had little experience with day care, and this truth especially held in rural and semi-rural regions like Hagerstown.<sup>63</sup> Jack Goodman's *While You Were Gone* (1945) told returning soldiers that children "have been on the whole better off if their mothers did not leave them with relatives or neighbors, or foster homes to go to work."<sup>64</sup> Due to the untested nature of day care, mothers tended to seek out alternative child care or remained at home. Hagerstonians, like other Americans in these years, also feared the rise in juvenile delinquency, which they attributed to wartime social strains. Those who opposed the entry of women into the workforce complained that the financial rewards of working often undermined family structures and morals.<sup>65</sup> War industries that brought teenagers to new "mushroom" cities received the blame for an increase in the incidents of juvenile crime.<sup>66</sup> Hagerstown may not have fit the same pattern as other boom towns, but it shared the same concerns. Baltimore *Sun* correspondent Frank Henry, in a special article on Fairchild and Hagerstown, characterized juvenile delinquency as a "serious if not critical problem" in the community.<sup>67</sup>

African Americans in the Hagerstown area also entered defense industries in record numbers during World War II, experiencing major fluctuations in the status quo as a result of the Fairchild expansion. At the outset of the war, aircraft companies had refused to hire black workers. Two factors led them to change their



Fairchild opened its doors to women workers late in 1941, and by March, 1942, women accounted for nearly 50 percent of the work force. Here an inspector checks the measurements of a wing frame. (Maryland Historical Society.)

minds. Like the hiring of women, increased losses to the draft forced them to find additional supplemental manpower. Secondly, under a threatened march on Washington, President Roosevelt on 25 June 1941 signed Executive Order 8802, establishing the Fair Employment Practice Commission. After the commission barred racial discrimination in defense industries, black employment in the aircraft industry escalated from zero to fifty thousand nationwide.<sup>68</sup> Fairchild did not begin hiring blacks until more than a year after the order and then, like other defense plants, Fairchild established segregated work places. Given the racial climate of the period, any attempts to integrate the workforce would have been extremely risky. When the Edgewood Arsenal in Harford County integrated, its white civilian employees staged a walk-out.<sup>69</sup> Fairchild, under enormous pressure to produce its quota of PT-19s, could not afford such risk. The company built Plant #7 for its African-American employees. Formerly part of a local hosiery mill, Plant #7

produced parts for the PT-19 and UC-61 under the supervision of an African-American foreman. Training schools for whites and blacks were also separate, that for blacks also accepting women. Female African Americans eventually made up one-half of the segregated plant's labor force.

Plant #7 celebrated its first anniversary on 19 August 1943 and received a write-up in the employee newspaper. Kenyon E. Evans, a shift supervisor at the plant, used the occasion to express his appreciation to the "honest, broadminded men, who were so considerate and thoughtful to extend a chance to our group." Paul Frizzel, assistant general manager of Fairchild at the time, thanked the employees of Plant #7 for its contribution and replied:

Amidst all of the problems which are inherent in industrial operation under today's conditions, your Management has counted itself fortunate that Fairchild and the Hagerstown Community have been free from the racial conflicts and tensions that have plagued so many communities.<sup>70</sup>

Employment at the former hosiery mill reached its peak in January, 1944, with 156 employees.<sup>71</sup> This number represented approximately 2 percent of Fairchild's workers, roughly proportional to Hagerstown's wartime black population of 2.6 percent.<sup>72</sup>

In spite of the rosy picture portrayed by Evans and Frizzel, Fairchild's and Hagerstown's attitudes towards its racial minorities were not as progressive as they appeared. Blacks and whites both felt the financial rewards of Fairchild's expansion. Racial discrimination, however, remained a part of life for blacks in Hagerstown. They remained in the black sections of the town and were not invited to share the new homes constructed for war workers. A local real estate company took advantage of this situation and exploited the new-found affluence. As a designated critical defense area, Hagerstown became subject to a federal government rent freeze. Landlords could no longer charge periodic increases in rent unless they made actual physical improvements. The real estate company could not make additional profits under this system from its African-American tenants. To remedy this lack of revenue, it decided to offer African Americans an option to purchase their own homes. Tenants first paid a small amount on deposit, followed by a monthly mortgage equivalent to their rent each month. Fairchild wages gave blacks a new affluence, and many of them saw this as a golden opportunity to own their own homes. Tenants failed to realize that the extended terms of the mortgage ultimately benefited the real estate firm.<sup>73</sup>

On 28 February 1944, the army air corps canceled Fairchild's contract to produce PT-19s. The company expected the cancellation and already had plans for new production. Fairchild immediately began reconversion to produce a medium-range transport plane (C-82) that the army wanted to use for its anticipated land invasion of Japan. Re-tooling was needed in order to switch from wood and fabric to aluminum sheet that would be used in the C-82s. Fairchild also began re-training efforts and actively recruited still more workers on the radio and in local newspapers.<sup>74</sup> Apparently Fairchild officials did not plan on maintaining Plant #7





Fairchild built its Packet at the rate of twelve monthly for transport and airborne troop operations. (Maryland Historical Society.)

during this transition period. Across the nation, blacks in war industries were the last group hired and the first group to be released after the boom.<sup>75</sup> As the company began the switch away from the PT-19, black employment at Plant #7 decreased dramatically. In March, 1944, Fairchild employed 142 blacks; by June that number dropped to seventy-nine. In early 1945 the company had no remaining African-American employees. Meanwhile, Fairchild's white employment remained relatively stable.<sup>76</sup> Fairchild management probably did not actively conspire to rid itself of its black employees. Yet it is clear that blacks did not have a permanent place in the Fairchild operation. Like women, blacks provided only a temporary solution to Fairchild's manpower problem.

Fairchild's physical impact on Hagerstown manifested itself in new neighborhoods that housed almost exclusively war workers. While Hagerstown did not experience a rapid rise in transient employees, the city did have an acute need for additional housing.<sup>77</sup> Rather than bringing the federal government into the community to fill Hagerstown's housing needs, local real estate companies and contractors agreed to build the necessary new homes. Fairchild also established its own real estate division to coordinate housing for employees. Hamilton Homes, located in the north end of town between plants one and two, became the main housing

development for Fairchild employees. H. E. Bester and Company, a local concrete block firm, supplied half a million blocks for the 167 new units.<sup>78</sup> Developers named the neighborhood's main street Fairchild Avenue. The cost for the assortment of cape-cods, bungalows, and salt-boxes ranged from \$3,900 to \$4,400. The Hagerstown Lumber Company built nearby Fairgreen Acres for workers who could afford homes in the \$6,000 price bracket.<sup>79</sup> Due to tight credit restrictions, war workers made up the bulk of the new buyers. Also, seventy-five private homes converted their spare bedrooms into apartment dwellings. During the war Hagerstown experienced growth of more than four hundred new housing units.<sup>80</sup>

At war's end Hagerstown usurped Cumberland's title as the second largest city in the state. Yet some Hagerstown residents felt apprehensive about this rapid physical growth. Older members of the community looked upon Hamilton Homes with disdain and feared that they would become slums after the war.<sup>81</sup> Due to Fairchild's postwar production boom, the neighborhood never fulfilled its prophecy and remains a stable, assimilated part of the community. Municipal responsibilities also expanded during the war. The Washington County Board of Education assumed the burden of training future Fairchild employees. Seven thousand local students and adults graduated from the courses, 90 percent of them going on to work in Hagerstown's war industries. Hagerstown's added population and the traffic around Fairchild's plants overburdened the city's transportation facilities. Fairchild requested the construction of a new highway to relieve congestion on the nearby Middleburg Pike. In February of 1942, thirty-five WPA workers completed the 3.3 mile stretch at a cost of \$128,000.<sup>82</sup> The city again expanded the runways at the airport for Fairchild during the war. This project cost \$1.3 million, although the city's share was only \$200,000 (the federal government financed the balance).<sup>83</sup> Hagerstown also spent over \$300,000 for new boilers at its electric plant. The increase in revenue for the city, however, enabled it to establish a \$500,000 fund for use in postwar reconversion. Property taxes for city residents also declined.<sup>84</sup>

The presence of Fairchild in the community meant more than just a source of income for the people of Hagerstown. Hagerstonians identified with Fairchild and its products and felt proud of their work. The 1945 edition of the city directory described Fairchild as an "aircraft plant of national prominence."<sup>85</sup> Whenever word got out about a new test flight, a community network spread the news to family and friends. Within hours, thousands would show up, peering through the gates anxiously awaiting the plane's appearance. For example, while returning from a trip to Washington, D.C., the pilot of the plane carrying several top Fairchild executives lost control of one main landing gear. While the pilot repeatedly circled the airport in preparation for an emergency landing, rumors of the crisis spread throughout the community. People began to congregate around the airport. As the plane landed safely, a collective sense of relief swept through the crowd.<sup>86</sup>

Fairchild and Hagerstown shared the honors when the plant received the prestigious Army-Navy "E" award on 7 February 1943. Only 5 percent of the nation's war plants won this award for full labor utilization, avoidance of work stoppages, and cooperation with the war program. Four thousand employees and their

families, dressed in their best Sunday clothes, attended the awards ceremony held in Plant #2. Local radio station WJEJ carried the event live. Col. William M. Morgan of the U.S. Army Air Forces presented the "E" flag, which thereafter went on display in all Fairchild plants. General Manager Boutelle accepted the award on behalf of the company. The president of Local 842 of the UAW-CIO spoke, as did the company's oldest male and female employees. After the ceremony, Dick Henson (the company test pilot) performed an air show featuring several Fairchild planes.<sup>87</sup>



How does the Hagerstown experience during World War II compare to that of other war-boom communities in the United States and Maryland? Despite the economic and social upheaval they shared, they did not fit into a single paradigm. Before the war, Elkton, Maryland, was a quiet, agrarian village of 3,518 people. When Triumph Industries, a local fireworks manufacturer, received a contract to make 40mm shells for the navy, the town itself fairly exploded with growth. Seneca, Illinois, with a 1940 population numbering 1,235, grew in a similar fashion after the Chicago Bridge and Iron Company (CBI) located its shipyard on the outskirts of the town. Elkton, Seneca, and Hagerstown underwent economic transformation during the war—yet differences among them are telling. Triumph, CBI, and Fairchild all experienced exponential growth after winning military contracts. CBI, unlike Fairchild, moved into the community after the outbreak of hostilities. While not as large as Hagerstown, the Seneca area shared many of the Maryland town's demographic characteristics. In a survey of the community, CBI discovered that close to three thousand men within a thirty-five mile radius of Seneca were available for employment.<sup>88</sup> Growth at the shipyards, however, outpaced the community's ability to provide labor. As a result, Seneca's population multiplied fivefold during the course of the war. In contrast, Fairchild employed a work force indigenous to the region, thus putting less stress on the community. Unlike Seneca, Hagerstown did not have to establish new institutions to accommodate newcomers.

Elkton's wartime experience also contrasted with that of Hagerstown. As one of the United States Employment Service's twenty-five critical labor areas, Elkton could not provide nearly the number of workers that Triumph Industries needed to operate. Triumph's officials solved this problem in a radically different way than Fairchild did in Hagerstown. Only 1,300 of the company's 11,500 employees came from the area. The USES recruited the rest of Triumph's employees from North Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. As a result, a total of 85,000 workers passed through Elkton during the war. Close to 75 percent (90 percent in 1944) were women from mountainous, coal-mining regions. In 1944 the USES actually air-dropped fifty thousand recruiting leaflets over an inaccessible West Virginia region.<sup>89</sup> Additionally, three thousand black workers (25 percent of Triumph's payroll) came from Southern Delaware.<sup>90</sup>

The relationship between Triumph and Elkton deteriorated rapidly as the company expanded. During its peak years, twelve hundred new female employees

arrived monthly in Elkton.<sup>91</sup> Aberdeen Proving Grounds, temporary home of thousands of young soldiers, was located twenty miles west of the town. After twelve thousand construction workers finished their work at the nearby Port Deposit naval training station, thousands of naval recruits also swarmed into the area. One can almost describe the scene in Elkton during the first half of World War II as riotous. Tensions between Triumph employees and Elkton increased rapidly. The company handbook made a special point to warn new employees to respect the traditions of local residents.<sup>92</sup> Late in 1942 a navy commander at Port Deposit had to use MPs to restore order in Elkton.<sup>93</sup>

A lack of community services to accommodate this sudden influx of people created most of the problems at Elkton. Hagerstown also experienced stress, but it managed to escape most of the problems created by an influx of newcomers. The situation at Elkton improved dramatically when the USO became involved in the community. Elkton's USO instituted a type of parallel government to provide functions that the town would not and could not offer. It purchased a club to entertain Triumph girls and visiting soldiers, provided supervision for company dormitories, and arranged for day care for working mothers. While Hagerstown's USO performed necessary functions—visiting nearby army camps and disabled veterans—it did not replace local government as was nearly the case in Elkton. Too, Hagerstown was blessed with an urban-industrial infrastructure that better enabled the town to absorb war growth. The surplus of available industrial space that allowed Fairchild to create the Hagerstown System simply did not exist in Elkton and Seneca.

Perhaps the most striking difference between Fairchild, CBI, and Triumph can be found in their postwar roles in the communities. Defense plants at Seneca and Elkton could not find niches in the postwar economy. They closed down, and their workers either returned home or found jobs elsewhere. Trucks hauled off the housing developments built for the CBI workers at Seneca, whose population went from twelve hundred in 1942 to 6,590 in 1944 and then back to 1,370 in 1945.<sup>94</sup> Triumph, after a wartime peak of 11,500 employees, cut back to seven hundred by the end of July 1945. Fairchild actually increased its share of the aircraft industry during the postwar/Cold War period. Employment reached its all-time peak of ten thousand in 1953,<sup>95</sup> and two years later the company met a payroll exceeding \$40 million.<sup>96</sup>

After the war, the company disassembled the Hagerstown System and restored leased buildings to their original peace-time functions. The corporation and the Hagerstown community later experienced several periods of decline in the 1960s and 1970s. Fairchild, however, remained a vital and active participant in the affairs of the Hagerstown community until its departure from the area in 1983.

#### NOTES

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# Homefront Heroes: Jitterbugging in Wartime Baltimore

CHRYSTELLE TRUMP BOND

A dance craze hit America during the late 1930s and early 1940s, when social dancing in public settings reached an unprecedented peak of popularity. Hundreds of dance bands criss-crossed the nation performing nightly in ballrooms and clubs in large cities and small towns. The new swing music inspired the creation of new dances. Millions flocked to Arthur Murray's nation-wide dance studios to learn the jitterbug, foxtrot, rumba, samba, waltz, and polka. Movies of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers glamorized formal ballroom dancing, but Americans danced anywhere dance bands, jukeboxes, and radios played music.<sup>1</sup>

The dance craze was still growing at the beginning of the "defense emergency" that began in 1939, and it lasted throughout World War II.<sup>2</sup> During those years millions of Americans experienced displacement from their home communities and ways of life. Young men drafted into the military services, new factory workers moving from rural areas to boom towns, and those left behind all turned to dance as a relief from worry, and sometimes pain.

Nowhere was the connection between dance and war more evident than at the various branches of the USO, the United Services Organization. As men flooded into new defense plants and a military draft came into effect, government authorities soon perceived that workers and soldiers far from home needed affordable (and wholesome) recreational outlets. In February 1941 the Office of Community War Services of the Federal Security Agency and the Joint Army-Navy Committee on Welfare and Recreations convened a meeting with six civilian service organizations: the Jewish Welfare Board, National Catholic Community Service, Salvation Army, Travelers' Aid, YMCA, and YWCA. Out of this emerged the USO.<sup>3</sup>

Aware that its weekly Saturday night military dance could be the last chance a soldier or sailor would have to kick up his heels before being sent overseas or to parts unknown in the southern United States for training,<sup>4</sup> USO clubs scheduled a variety of dances by which servicemen could release physical, emotional, and social tension. Writers in *Dance* and *American Dancer* magazines counted off the reasons: dancing helped to make new friends and to avoid loneliness; it enhanced physical and mental fitness; and, most important, it built "that spirit of victory known as morale without which no war is ever won."<sup>5</sup> One aviation cadet reflected that

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During the war Baltimore boasted seven large USO clubs where soldiers could relax and unwind in an atmosphere that maintained hometown values. Here patrons enjoy a Halloween dance at the downtown “Y” on Monument Street. (Maryland Historical Society.)

regimented military life with a restrictive code of dress and behavior allowed for very little personal expression beyond one’s serial number. And yet, without spending much money, a serviceman could unwind on the dance floor, expressing himself by leading his dancing partner through his choice of choreographic maneuvers.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, dancing involved pleasant feminine companions who might remind GIs of their favorite girls back home. Thus in the thinking of the USO, dancing and conversation served to remind GIs of the values of home, family, and freedom—the very things they were fighting to preserve.<sup>7</sup> Dance also had value for civilian defense workers. In an article entitled “Dance and War,” Joy Richards, a feature writer for *Dance* in 1943, held that dancing served to increase the efficiency of war workers by rejuvenating “tense nerves, cramped muscles, and a dulled zest for life.”<sup>8</sup>

Baltimore became the site of a major USO operation. A transportation hub for people in motion, the city also was home to large war industries that drew migrant workers and within an easy trip of a ring of large military bases. On Pearl Harbor day, the *Baltimore Sun* reported that the USO clubs in Baltimore “regularly draw men not only from Maryland camps but from posts throughout Virginia and as far distant as North Carolina.”<sup>9</sup> Seven large USO clubs were organized to serve them. The National Catholic Charities was in charge of a club for aircraft workers at Middle River and the central Charles Street Club at 339 North Charles in downtown



The USO clubs offered events for workers on the “graveyard shift” and “round-the-clock” dances to accommodate the thousands of new war workers on night shifts. Defense workers here crowd the “Night Shift Dance” at the main branch of the YMCA. (YWCA, Baltimore.)

Baltimore.<sup>10</sup> The three downtown “Y’s” (the YMHA/YWHA at 305 West Monument Street, the Central YWCA at Franklin Street and Park Avenue, and the Central YMCA at Franklin and Cathedral streets) each housed a club.<sup>11</sup> The YMCA sponsored another USO club in Dundalk for war workers and service personnel at Holabird Signal Depot and Logan Field.<sup>12</sup> Separated from their fellow Americans in USO clubs as well as in military units, African Americans gathered at Public School 122, Public School 133, and the Druid Hill Avenue YMCA for special USO dances and programs for “Negro Servicemen.”<sup>13</sup> Black war workers gathered at the “Negro Night Shift Canteen” at the Druid Hill Avenue YWCA.<sup>14</sup> In addition to these centers, the USO also operated a number of satellite clubs, and groups from each club organized activities on local military bases.

Although the USO clubs offered overnight housing, meals with local families, splash parties, motion pictures, ice skating, ping-pong, crafts, dramatics, photography, lectures, concerts, group singing, wrestling, picnics, and class instruction in arts and languages, dancing was clearly their most popular and most important activity. “The boys can not get enough dancing,” reported Mrs. Maurice Moore, chair of the USO National Women’s Committee after returning from a coast-to-coast

tour of USO clubs. She declared that ballroom and square dancing were "tops as a USO activity" and strongly recommended USO clubs sponsor still more dances.<sup>15</sup>

Her call was heeded in Baltimore. For war workers the YWCA and its branches offered special events that included "Graveyard Shift Workers" events and the "Co-Ed Club's Round the Clock dances." The eclectic "Stay-At-Home Camp" initiated a program of Virginia reels, minuets, and modern dance that could be performed by women only.<sup>16</sup> The Central YWCA-USO Club staged popular Saturday Night Victory Dances.<sup>17</sup> Dancing on the Central YMCA rooftop provided the "coolest spot on a hot night," and on a typical summer evening the moon and twinkling stars supplied the only light on the dance floor.<sup>18</sup> At the YMHA/YWHA USO Club on West Monument Street, servicemen danced to jukebox music on week nights and on Saturday nights to live music by bands from nearby military installations, especially the popular Curtis Bay Coast Guard Yard Band.<sup>19</sup> By October, 1941, the Central YMCA staff apologized for having to limit attendance at its dances, since crowds had increased to a point where the gym and rooftop areas could not accommodate them.<sup>20</sup> At all locations, servicemen could choose from a constant variety of dances. Formal events marked Valentines' Day, Christmas, and New Year's. "Greet the Fleet" and "Harvest Moon" dances were also favorites, and regular Military Balls added more spice to the dance calendar.

In order to help servicemen and women relax, the USOs prohibited the attendance of officers, and so a variety of other organizations sprang up to provide the same sort of recreation for them. The Officers' Club of the United Nations held dances in the beautiful dining room of the Racquet Club at 6 West Madison Street. Intended for officers of the Army, Navy, and Marines of all the allied nations and their families, the club drew people from Baltimore, Fort Meade, Hagerstown, and Washington, D.C. The club expanded its services from casual week-night jukebox dances to glamorous weekend dances with orchestral music at the Belvedere Hotel and elegant tea dances at the Variety Club atop the Stanley Theatre.<sup>21</sup> Another Officers' Club held its dances in the Great Hall of Christ Episcopal Church on St. Paul Street. The Hamilton Street Club also sponsored dances for officers. Ordnance Officer Candidates from Aberdeen had their own club at 8 East Pleasant Street. Other war-related groups had their organizations. An International Center specialized in holding dances for servicemen with foreign backgrounds.<sup>22</sup> The British Merchant Navy Club held dances in the lobby of 11 West Mount Vernon Place.<sup>23</sup> American merchant seamen, whose disdain for wearing uniforms excluded them from USO activities, attended dances at the Seamen's Service Club at 1420 North Charles Street.

Regular dances were held by local organizations as diverse as the Grand Lodge Masons, the Navy League, and the Women's Committee of the Baltimore Chapter of the American Institute of Banking.<sup>24</sup> Other individual organizations sponsored occasional dances and dance shows to raise funds for the war effort. The *Entre Nous* Society's holiday dances raised funds for the Red Cross. The American Society for Russian Relief's "Salute to Russia" pageant, with dancing at the Fifth Regiment Armory, benefited that relief effort.<sup>25</sup>



USO club dances relied on local “Junior Hostesses” who volunteered to dance the night away. Rigorously interviewed and screened, and over seventeen years of age, these young ladies promised to aid the war effort by attending USO dances on a regular basis. (YWCA, Baltimore.)

Many patriotic American women volunteered at the USO and other clubs to help someone else’s son, daughter, brother, or sweetheart in uniform, just as they hoped other volunteers would help their own loved ones serving far from home.<sup>26</sup> A patriotic duty, dancing at the USO was also a great way to improve a young woman’s social life. Before 1941 stag dances at Gwynn Oak Park and the Alcazar had highlighted the Baltimore youth social scene, but with so many young men off during the war, stag dances became a thing of memory. Life picked up for the enterprising single young lady who as a Junior Hostess could dance every night with plenty of male dancing partners at well-attended USO club dances.<sup>27</sup> The Volunteer Hostess Club at the Army and Navy YMCA-USO Club at the Central Y at Franklin and Cathedral streets was typical.<sup>28</sup> Senior Hostesses provided information, chaperoned dances, served refreshments or Sunday breakfasts and suppers. Junior Hostesses of the Girls’ Service Organization served as “dancing, game, conversational and craft partners” for the servicemen.<sup>29</sup>

Rigorous interviews, reference letters, and an orientation period served to screen the single working girls and high school or college students over seventeen years of age who basically qualified to become Junior Hostesses.<sup>30</sup> These young women



Goucher College Junior Hostess and partner. A group of Goucher College students sponsored weekly Wednesday night dances for army and navy officers on the roof of the downtown YMCA during the summer of 1942. (Goucher College Collection.)

promised to contribute to the national defense by attending USO club dances on a regular basis. Junior Hostesses also promised to contribute to the success of USO club dances by cultivating a good attitude and conducting themselves according to the USO Junior Hostess code of behavior, which included returning home immediately after the USO dance “unless specifically permitted to do otherwise by the supervisor of the dance.”<sup>31</sup>

The YMCA *Handbook for Program Volunteers* defined the responsibilities of Junior Hostesses, which ranged from thinking of new party ideas and giving careful consideration to the soldier’s desire to have a good time, to the more serious duties of steering conversations away from dangerous gossip and rumors about military affairs and troop movements. Placed in the precarious position of perhaps being either the last American girl a serviceman might dance with or the first woman a serviceman might meet after months of overseas service, Junior Hostesses tried nonetheless to have a good time and ensure that others did as well.<sup>32</sup> Some hostesses rarely missed a dance.<sup>33</sup> Others received reprimands or forfeited membership for breaking the multitude of rules. The young women had to forswear sweaters, socks, loafers, and saddle shoes (they were to wear dresses and stockings or leg make-up at USO club dances). They could not smoke anywhere except in the lounge

or powder room. They were not to chew gum at USO club dances and social occasions. They were not to date patrons of the USO clubs. They were never to refuse to dance with a serviceman—even if he had two left feet. They were obliged to join in the Paul Jones, a circle dance, the conga line, and similar ice breakers despite any feelings of appearing ridiculous.<sup>34</sup> Finally, the *Hints for Hostesses in Service Clubs* handbook sternly warned Junior Hostesses that a USO Club was “a service center, not a matrimonial agency.”<sup>35</sup>

The Baltimore manual further advised Junior Hostesses to dress to please the servicemen by selecting feminine apparel and wearing cheerful, becoming, and mood-reflecting colors; they were to avoid blues, grays, and khaki because the boys wore those colors day in and day out.<sup>36</sup> Margaret Neal, a former Junior hostess at the Charles Street USO Club, recalls Junior Hostesses wearing platform-soled high heels, nylons, matching bracelets and earrings, and tailored dresses. The girls coiffed their hair with curls, rolls, and waves and wore a little make-up. When attending USO dances they preferred “Evening in Paris” perfume. Even if dressed in long evening gowns, the hostesses thought nothing of hopping on a streetcar enroute to a USO formal.<sup>37</sup> The USO did not have the monopoly on hostesses. The Junior Service Group, an organization of Goucher College students, sponsored weekly Wednesday night dances for army and navy officers on the roof of the YMCA during the summer of 1942. The officers from military posts in the Baltimore area outnumbered the fifty members of this Goucher College club about two to one at these events. Not surprisingly, the women enjoyed this “favorable balance of trade” as they whirled around the rooftop under the stars.<sup>38</sup> Junior Hostesses at the Officers’ Club of the United Nations needed special skills to converse and dance with foreign officers, some of whom further complicated matters by wearing dress swords while dancing.<sup>39</sup> Not all the “hostesses” were female: because of the scarcity of male partners for women war workers, the Central YWCA recruited men to attend the Night Shift Workers Dances.<sup>40</sup>

Clubs frequently sponsored dancing classes for Junior Hostesses and servicemen, and patriotic local dance teachers volunteered their services.<sup>41</sup> Helen “Bobbie” Burns, moonlighting from her regular job as an Arthur Murray ballroom instructor, taught ballroom lessons at the officers’ club at 6 West Madison Street. Eleanor and Ted Cochelle, professional ballroom dancers, taught modern waltzes, foxtrots, modern jitterbug, and South American dances at the Central Y.<sup>42</sup> Also teaching there was William Phelan. In addition to giving “his services freely to the development of the fine program of dances for the Service Men,” Phelan served as master of ceremonies for combined lessons and dances that attracted GIs from Camp Meade, Holabird, Edgewood, Coast Guard Yard, and Aberdeen.<sup>43</sup> Phelan taught the foxtrot, waltz, tango, rumba, and conga; his classes ending with “a combined party and dance” to orchestral music, a floor show, and light refreshments.<sup>44</sup> Larry Cairns, Betty Johnston, and Bruce Yarbrough of the YMCA and YWCA staff also attracted an avid following by teaching and calling the figures for country contras, squares, circles, longways and round dancing.<sup>45</sup> Cairns was an old-fashioned square-dance caller to hillbilly music played by a WPA band.<sup>46</sup> He described his



Black war workers gathered at the "Negro Night Shift Canteen" at the Druid Hill Avenue YWCA. Here they dance the conga, which caught on in Maryland after September, 1941, when two New York soldiers "put on a 'conga' that was really a knock-out." (YMCA Collection, University of Baltimore Library.)

YMCA-YWCA sponsored USO outdoor parties at the Cahill Recreation Center as a "clinic for the treatment of war nerves." The "prescription" was "one square dance, shake well while using, and take at regular intervals."<sup>47</sup>

Specific dances performed varied from person to person and from club to club. But one could always count on mixers such as a grand march or a Paul Jones to break the ice, drawing everyone onto the dance floor and creating a party mood. Bashful and self-conscious boys comfortably eased into the spirit of the party by meeting girls briefly in these mixers and carefully taking note of the good dancers for future reference.<sup>48</sup> If the servicemen never heard of a Paul Jones before, the Junior Hostesses gently maneuvered the men around in a circle until the whistle blew. Then the girls selected their next dancing partners. It only took a few times until the GIs got the hang of the circle-partner-circle-partner cycle.<sup>49</sup>

The "boomsy-daisey," a new specialty dance, reached Baltimore in June 1942.<sup>50</sup> A World War II version of the "bump," it never became as popular among the USO crowd as the rumba, samba, and conga.<sup>51</sup> The smooth South- and Latin-American music of Xavier Cugat and his Waldorf Astoria Orchestra popularized these dances in America. Simple to learn and fun to do, the conga seemed to catch on in Maryland when in September 1941 two soldiers from New York City "put on a 'conga' that really was a knock-out."<sup>52</sup>

Most popular of all was the jitterbug. Despite segregation in the armed forces, defense plants, and the USO, young Americans regardless of gender, race, or class danced the African-based movements of the jitterbug. Incorporating steps from African-American dances like the Lindy hop, boogie woogie, shag, trucking, Charleston, Susie-Q, Shorty-George, and camel walk, jitterbuggers pulsated to syn-copated rhythms, especially when dancing to music of the Benny Goodman Orchestra featuring the thrilling drums of Gene Krupa.<sup>53</sup> Improvising favorite steps with one's partner on the spot, or breaking away for a solo flight on the dance floor, the jitterbugger transformed this dance into a marvelous form of individual expression. Jitterbug contests—with "hepcat" dancers flinging bodies through the air—could electrify USO club dances. "Hepcat"—a label for a "swing addict"—came from the military's use of "hep" for "left" in calling cadence. So to be "hep" meant to be "in step" in the army and on the dance floor alike.<sup>54</sup> The jitterbug had interregional appeal. A seaman from New Haven, jitterbugging during a contest at the Charles Street USO Club, exhibited such favorite fancy steps as "The New London Bounce," "The Bridgeport," and "The Waterbury Shuffle." These steps severely strained the seaman's tight-fitting Navy white trousers, but even when his wallet popped from a rear pocket and went spinning across the floor, he never stopped jitterbugging.<sup>55</sup> Meanwhile, the gossip column in the September 1941 *YMCA News* hinted of a romance brewing after a recent rooftop dance between "Marie C" and "a certain Brooklyn Jitterbug."<sup>56</sup> Dancing the jitterbug implicitly made a political statement: Despite wartime dislocation and military restrictions, Americans felt free to express themselves physically, mentally, and spiritually, and to do so whenever they got a chance—to jitterbug.

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## Book Reviews

*Landmarks of Prince George's County.* The Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. Pp. 144. Notes, index. \$29.95.)

The purpose behind this book is clearly stated by county executive Parris Glendening in a foreword: "By celebrating some of Prince George's County's most important historic properties, this book anticipates the 1996 tricentennial of the county's founding." And celebrate them it does: visually beautiful, handsomely crafted, it is a tribute to the Johns Hopkins University Press and to the unusual partnership that produced it. If you failed to secure a copy for Christmas, find a birthday or other occasion—this deserves an honored and featured place in the home or office. This is a Prince George's County you may not know exists—or existed.

In a modest style that makes it difficult to identify the originator of the concept (if there were a single individual, rather than a fortuitous set of circumstances and ready participants), Robert J. Kapsch, chief of the National Park Service's Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Register, U.S. Department of the Interior, explains in an essay that "HABS decided to undertake an innovative architectural documentation project that would rely on photodocumentation and focus on a single geographic entity, ideally a county. The plan was for HABS to work with an existing historic preservation agency to use its expertise. Such an organization had to be professional and well versed in the history of its county." For convenience, the pilot project was to involve a group within driving range of Washington, D.C. The criteria were met by Prince George's County and its Historic Preservation Commission. The Maryland Historical Trust and the staff of the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission were enlisted, with Gail C. Rothrock of the M-NCPPC (already well known to the HABS for her work in upper Montgomery County) a key player and enthusiastic support from county officials and agencies and from volunteer groups.

Born in the New Deal, HABS in 1936 had a collection of some ninety-seven photographs of historic properties in Prince George's (only sixty-five of which still stand). Over the years, some two dozen of these properties had been acquired by the M-NCPPC, and, in 1981, a preservation ordinance had been passed and a historic preservation master plan adopted. More than 250 sites and one district had been designated as county landmarks; sixty sites and four districts had been accepted in the National Register of Historic Places. It was coming to be seen in the words of HABS historian and leader of the project, Catherine C. Lavoie, that "as one of the earliest and now one of the most developed counties in Maryland, [Prince George's County] is central to the timeline of the state's historic architecture." Tidewater, Georgian, Federal, Greek Revival, Queen Anne, Victorian, early Twentieth-Century and Art Deco—it was all there, three centuries of colonial and national history. How

to select from such riches? Working with Lavoie, HABS chief photographer Jack E. Boucher commenced in 1981 to take photographs of sixty-two structures, accumulating nine hundred photographs of the highest professional quality, sharp in detail, artistic in setting and lighting. Of these, 125 were selected for the book after exhibits in Washington and the county persuaded HABS that a wider audience deserved to share in these treasures (now included in the HABS collection at the Library of Congress). Lavoie and Susan G. Pearl, Prince George's historian at the M-NCPPC, prepared captions for the black-and-white photographs. Prefatory essays by key players provide a valuable backdrop and enhance the overall production: Rothrock's "A Heritage to Preserve," Pearl's "300 Years of County History," Lavoie's "Architecture: From Tidewater to Modern," and Kapsch's "Documenting a County's Legacy." These are complemented by Boucher's commentary on the tools and techniques of his photography, interesting even to the non-specialist. A map displays the designated historic sites. There is a guide to architectural plans and styles to clarify terminology and comparisons, and "Further Reading" introduces the new reader to the county's history.

The dust cover (such a common name for such a beautiful example of Boucher's work) aches to be framed: it is a wrap-around of the Snowden seat, Montpelier. This is the sort of photograph commonly associated with Tidewater Virginia but too seldom with Maryland and even less frequently in the public mind with Prince George's. Long overshadowed by its more affluent sister to the west, Prince George's has tended to be looked upon as "countrified," rural, a bedroom suburb, an area to speed through over super-highways. Here we see a different Prince George's: remnants of the plantation aristocracy that grew out of tobacco and slave labor to supplant the colonial settlements along the waterways; the struggle in the aftermath of civil war and new-found freedom; country stores; Victorian ornamentation; New Deal heroic carving; and Art Deco. This is the backdrop to a vigorous and developing county being transformed through transportation and technology. It is therefore not simply a nostalgic recalling of the past but a source of pride for the future, made possible through an extraordinary assemblage of federal, state, and local organizations, as well as volunteer groups—the Prince George's County Historical Society, Prince George's Historical Trust, Inc., the Prince George's Historical and Cultural Trust, the Center for American Places (Harrisonburg, Virginia), and those previously noted. To them the state, the county, and those who appreciate both the subject and the effort owe an enormous debt for this three-year project and the vision of a book to present highlights. Executed by Archetype Press, Inc., of Washington, the book should be a source of pride for many and a guide and reference for years to come.

DAVID WINFRED GADDY

*New Carrollton*

*In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778–1860.* Lillian B. Miller and Carol Eaton. (Washington, D.C.: University of Washington Press, 1992. \$60.)

The first comprehensive study of Rembrandt Peale is called, appropriately, the “biography of a career” by the author, Lillian Miller, renowned author and editor of the Peale Family Papers and the inspiration for many who study and analyze this illustrious first family of American artists. Miller’s intent—to establish the structure of Rembrandt Peale’s career, to analyze some of its high points, and to provide a context in the social and cultural history of the pre-Civil War period—has been amply fulfilled.

The volume joins a relatively new genre of publications—books that stand alone as major studies of an artist or a specific topic but that accompany an exhibition in lieu of, but more comprehensive in scope than, a catalogue. This type of book must be commended, as it makes available much more information than the usual catalogue essay and provides a more thorough study of the artist’s work than is usually made in an exhibit, which must be limited in the number of objects that can be presented. The lenders to the exhibition are acknowledged, but only an asterisk preceding the figure number of the illustration indicates which paintings and drawings were included in the exhibition. A simple checklist would be appreciated. However, the book is a welcome change from the usual form of short, introductory, biographical essay and a catalogue entry for each picture which, especially in the case of portraits, focuses more on the sitter’s biography than on the artist and thus presents a disjointed view of the real subject of the exhibit and book: the artist.

Rembrandt Peale’s life is presented in detail and with the meticulous documentation one expects from Miller and her colleagues, who draw heavily on the Peale Papers’ collection of all known extant material on the family. Despite the detail, the story moves along at a quick pace. It keeps the reader interested with its interweaving of facts, legend, and analysis. The concluding chapter, an essay by Carol Eaton Hevner, assesses the artist’s work technically and discusses its stylistic changes. This essay is the “art historical” part of the book and stands on its own as an excellent study of Peale’s work. The catalogue of the 1985 exhibition at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Rembrandt Peale: A Life in the Arts*, is an older collaboration of these two scholars and the preliminary study for the current book, which goes far beyond the earlier catalogue.

Rembrandt Peale lived a semi-nomadic life for three-fourths of his eighty-two years. His parents were both from Maryland, his father from the Eastern Shore, and they lived in Annapolis for half of their married life. This association should have afforded Rembrandt Peale numerous connections to assist him in his effort to obtain patronage in Maryland. However, his sister Angelica had married a Baltimore merchant, Alexander Robinson, who deterred his in-laws from their “cheap, sideshow” exhibitions in Baltimore. Later, in 1814, Rembrandt established a museum in the city, known for years as the Peale Museum on North Holliday Street, now part of the Baltimore City Life Museums, still serving its original function as a museum and part of Rembrandt Peale’s legacy. Its collection of the War of 1812

heroes' portraits, such as Andrew Jackson and Gen. Samuel Smith, other portraits such as Benjamin Latrobe at the Maryland Historical Society and now owned by other Baltimore institutions, show his lasting influence on the city and the area. His experience with the Baltimore Gas Light Company is still an interesting bit of legal history and a warning to all naive investors of the difficulties they can assume. Peale visited or lived in Charleston, Savannah, Washington, New York, Boston, London, Paris, Italy, as well as Baltimore and Philadelphia. A chronology of his trips and residences would be a welcome reference tool in addition to the extensive bibliography that is included in the book.

Readers always want larger illustrations and more of them in color. The color selection here is admirable. It covers Peale's work chronologically and illustrates many works, including those in private collections and his adaptations of European paintings, not often seen in color. The illustrations show the constant changes in his technique and the really exquisite coloring he achieved.

Rembrandt Peale was not simply an artist in pursuit of fame but of the best he could be, constantly learning from everyone and every painting he saw, finally becoming an educator advocating the teaching of drawing at the same time as penmanship. How he learned, the artists he met, and the paintings he admired or copied in Europe provide insight into the American art scene from 1790 through 1860. This book is a must for anyone researching or studying or enjoying this period.

*In Pursuit of Fame* leaves two unanswered questions. One concerns the title, which seems to be a quotation but is not identified. Second, when will the forthcoming catalogue raisonné be published? Just as Charles Coleman Seller's *Portraits and Miniatures of Charles Willson Peale* has served as the major work on Rembrandt Peale's father for forty years, *In Pursuit of Fame* is now the definitive study and biography of Rembrandt Peale and will remain so for the foreseeable future.

KAROL A. SCHMIEGEL

*Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum*

*Baltimore's Cast-Iron Buildings & Architectural Ironwork.* James D. Dilts and Catherine F. Black, editors. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1991. Pp. xiv, 101, Illustrations, maps, index. \$19.95.)

While the Monumental City was so named for its array of sculptural memorials to great men and great battles, there is an entirely different class of monuments for which Baltimore should be equally celebrated: its now diminished but still distinguished pantheon of buildings, the principal fronts of which are formed of cast iron. Dilts and Black have drawn together a series of crisp essays that collectively will stand as a major work on this structurally and aesthetically significant and uniquely American movement in nineteenth-century architecture, illustrated by Baltimore's surviving examples. Not the least impressive of the book's consistently impressive features is the breath-taking color photography of Ron Haisfield.

The foreword by Margot Gayle—the nation's undisputed guru in the field—is an excellent exposition of the current state of cast-iron architecture in those cities with

the principal representatives. She takes special note of the four structures most recently restored in Wilmington, Delaware; Richmond; Philadelphia; and of course, Baltimore's stunning Wilkins-Robbins Building, restyled the Marsh & McLennon Building, on West Pratt Street. In view of Baltimore's one-time prominence in both the production and possession of cast-iron architecture, it is appropriate that Gayle and the editors emphasize and mourn the attrition resulting from, first, the Great Baltimore Fire of 1904, and latterly the misguided urban renewal of the 1950s. The final blow was land clearance for the Inner Harbor and allied projects, although in the course of this one of the city's great cast-iron structures—the Fava Fruit building—was carefully documented, disassembled, and stored, with hopes and expectations for its future reerection. Considering the dismal history of such undertakings elsewhere, let us join Mrs. Gayle in praying that Baltimore's traditionally well developed sense of enterprise will cause this one to bear viable fruit.

Dilts's introduction is a splendid account of the respective roles of cast iron and its ferrous cousins wrought iron and steel in the technology of building, from the late eighteenth century to nearly the present. This is, appropriately, directed at an audience presumably not entirely conversant with the differing characteristics of these often confused materials, and which historically determined their varying suitability for the principal structural elements of buildings: columns, beams, and their various connections. The significance of these differences cannot be overemphasized, for as Gayle noted in passing, they are the very basis for the changing employment of the ferrous metals in building, a key example being the ultimate obsolescence of cast iron (at least for primary structural members) because of its lack of malleability—its brittleness.

It is useful in understanding these three quite different metals that Dilts expands on their structural context by clearly describing the methods by which, historically, each has been produced, and the burgeoning commercial exploitation of each in the nineteenth century. The role of the railroad was particularly important here, and, probably not by coincidence, Baltimore's own Baltimore & Ohio was in the van not only in rolling-stock innovation but in the systematic introduction of both cast and wrought iron as durable, fireproof materials to replace timber (and the prohibitively expensive stone) in its bridges.

Iron was the universal material of both mechanical and civil engineering in the nineteenth century; it was the material that drove Baltimore's industry. In 1870 Maryland not only ranked fifth among the iron-producing states—the smelting of the ore into the pig iron from which derive all the ferrous metals—but in Baltimore a decade later two thousand men were employed in fifty iron foundries, of which six produced architectural castings. Of these, two were among the several that in the late 1850s and early 1860s cast the thousands of components for the new, all-iron dome of the U.S. Capitol.

The book's admirable emphasis on context and background continues with J. Scott Howell's solid description of the process by which pig iron is converted in the foundry into iron castings. This fundamental industrial process of antiquity remains very much of the present: while the last iron-front building was produced nearly a

century ago, practically all internal-combustion engines, machine tools, and an endless inventory of other industrial products are based on iron castings. This leads naturally to a discussion of the sometimes esoteric processes by which iron fronts can most sympathetically and effectively be restored. Only within the past twenty years have preservationists, city governments, developers, and a few enlightened commercial tenants come to realize that in these buildings lies enormous potential to preserve not only a vital element of our architectural heritage but also distinctly attractive and useful business property. Fortunately the majority of the survivors appear to have been recognized for the treasured resource that they are, and their owners should find Howell's remarks a useful and practical orientation for the restoration process.

The heart of this work is, naturally, detailed description of Baltimore's individual cast-iron architectural monuments, both present and, regrettably in one major case, past. The latter was one of the nation's most important iron structures, the previously mentioned, renowned, Sun Iron Building. David G. Wright, a veteran student and preserver of the city's iron architecture, has written an elegant study of this noble pile. When completed in 1851 it claimed fame on a number of counts. It was the first outside commission of James Bogardus, generally regarded the father of cast-iron architecture in America. Theretofore he had erected only a few buildings, all on his own account. At the time, this was the largest all-iron building to have been erected in the U.S., having not merely a front(s) but a nearly total skeleton of iron. It is of interest to realize that the Sun Building was a precise contemporary of the only marginally more famous (to Baltimoreans, that is, and even here there might be some dispute) Crystal Palace, which although considerably larger in area was of only three stories and was six feet lower than its American cousin.

The influence of the Sun Iron Building was profound. It was a stunning exemplar of all the promise held by cast-iron construction: largely fire resistant; quick of erection; cheap (in that one pattern could be used repeatedly to produce like members); capable of a high glass-to-frame ratio, providing more natural light to the building interior than with conventional bearing walls; and readily receptive of the exuberant decorative treatment of the time. These characteristics were evident to both the architectural profession and potential clients, and fairly can be seen as having advanced the gospel of iron architecture throughout the nation's major cities. Wright's description of the Sun Building's influence, both in Baltimore and the outside world, serves as a telling illustration of the rapid spread of the technology.

While the Sun Iron Building was lost—and even without the Fire might well not be standing today—Baltimore's other cast-iron jewel is very much alive, well, and reverentially appreciated. This is, of course, the internationally celebrated Peabody Library, justifiably seen as not only one of the masterpieces of the cast-iron building art but one of America's most stunning nineteenth-century interior spaces. The essay by Phoebe Stanton does full justice to this highly decorated, multi-tier stack structure (the "library" referred to is not the library building) which, unlike nearly all surviving cast-iron structures, these 115 years later continues to serve its original function. The library was, appropriately and perhaps inevitably, the product of



Bartlett, Robbins & Co. (earlier Hayward, Bartlett; later Bartlett, Hayward; always confusing), which came to be Baltimore's preeminent architectural iron foundry. It is worth noting that architect E. G. Lind's drawings of the structure survive, perhaps the only extant original graphic documentation of the city's iron structures.

A short chapter on the lesser aspects of Baltimore architectural ironwork by Robert L. Alexander serves to round out the saga of ferrous building, identifying a number of remaining (of once many) cast-iron balcony railings, and a modest variety of other decorative elements in both cast iron and of composite cast- and wrought-iron construction: fences, gates, and the like. Even the smith work of legendary ironworker Samuel Yellin is represented, in a weirdly grinning horse-head newel post of 1929 at the Baltimore National Bank.

Having illuminated the ferrous crown jewels of Baltimore's architectural heritage, this exceptional exposition concludes, fittingly, with a descriptive inventory of all of the city's buildings with full (ten) and partial (sixteen) cast-iron facades. The descriptions are satisfyingly complete, providing each structure's history of occupation, physical state, and architectural history. Taken together, the list is a wonderful record of the current status of this important component of the city's built environment and a useful guide for its followers from both home and away.

Despite the Great Fire, Baltimore's assemblage of historic architectural resources remains astonishingly rich and endlessly various, an eternal source of delight. Dilts and Black are to be applauded for having produced the definitive record of one of its most interesting facets.

ROBERT M. VOGEL

*National Museum of American History*

*Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America.* By A. G. Roeber. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. Pp. xiii, 432. Appendix, notes, bibliographic note, index, maps. \$48.95.)

A. Gregory Roeber, professor of early American history at the University of Illinois at Chicago, has written a major, ambitious, and comprehensive study of Germans in North America during the colonial and early republican period. The work, the first in a new Early America series edited by J. P. Greene and J. R. Pole, is a timely response to the call for studies that integrate Anglo-American and Central European historiographical perspectives. Surveying successive waves of eighteenth-century immigrants whose settlements spread from New York over the middle colonies to Georgia, Roeber takes the German element beyond the traditional regional study and provides a new frame of reference for the comparison of colonial populations across cultural and social characteristics. In particular, his use of European village-level research methods to determine legal and social structure and role and gender conflict makes an important contribution to the newly invigorated field of transatlantic studies.

Combining an overview and summary of recent German and American studies and doctoral theses with his own research in a number of local archives, Roeber tells

a many-layered tale of individuals, families, clans, and networks of agents and sponsors. It is a tale of transition and adaptation from the tightly socialized rural economies of the German Southwest to the regionally diverse social and political structures erected by the earlier European settlers of North America. More important for the study of transatlantic migration and for comparative social history is Roeber's choice of a central perspective for examining cultural transfer, resilience, and mutual acculturation. This perspective embraces two of the central and linked themes of Anglo-American eighteenth-century legal and political discourse, liberty and property, and the unparalleled challenge—at least to male European immigrants—to acquire property and accept civil responsibility. Legal experts for the period on both sides of the Atlantic might wish to qualify Roeber's complex interpretation of specific instances, such as the dissent and suspicion generated by private trustees holding church property acquired with European donations. Nonetheless, the speed with which formerly marginal landholders acquired property and the tenacity with which they defended their actual and perceived rights against their social betters is clear from the range of colonial sources. This surely proves what I take to be the essence of Roeber's argument—that the ability to acquire and maintain the recognition of these rights was at the core of social and cultural adjustment.

Although emphasis on property as the source of liberty would seem to slight the third pillar of eighteenth-century discourse, freedom of denominational choice, Roeber skillfully marshals his resources by concentrating on the large Lutheran population of immigrants and subsuming under their experience the Reformed groups from the Palatinate, whose legal and social structures will have differed only in points of local tradition and church government. In view of the centrality of this structural perspective, it is probably a moot point whether all of these former subjects of the Holy Roman Empire would have agreed to be described as Palatines and whether their conflict with earlier German immigrants in New York and New Jersey followed a strictly linguistic divide.

As in his previous work on New York, Roeber places great importance on married women and their legal status as potential and actual beneficiaries of their husbands' estates, issues that were major sources of internal and intercultural conflict throughout German areas of settlement. Central to this theme is not only village custom but the importance that Central European Pietism gave to the religious self-expression of women in general and to the role of the housewife (the *Gehilfin* or helpmate) as mediator between familial concerns and male domestic and social aggressiveness.

Roeber is perceptive in stipulating that Pietist attitudes to family, society and the church were part of the cultural baggage of many—if surely not all—settlers from the German Southwest and in recognizing the commercial and social networks that linked advocates and followers of Pietism through edification literature, international mission, and domestic philanthropy. Evidence on the stability and geographic pervasiveness of these networks over time is still fragmented, however. Also, there are as many differences as similarities between the institutionalized Pietism of Württemberg and the North German reform movement pioneered by Spener and,

after his death, by the Francke Orphanage Foundations in Halle and their associates. Thus, emphasis on the conventional Lutheran/Pietist notion of worldly property as stewardship and obligation fails to account for the complex mixture of charity, religious reform and entrepreneurial commerce that was typical of Halle and its missionaries. Moreover, as Roeber himself acknowledges, there is no clear pattern of social role, religious background or regional provenance that determined whether the various German leaders and brokers of influence would support or thwart the claim to disinterested stewardship by the Pietist clergy in America. To this reviewer at least, this suggests within-group economic stratification and ordinary conflict of interest rather than a specifically German inability to accept the civil responsibility conveyed by property. Whatever the cause, the reputation of the German element for fractiousness and even litigiousness was apparently well earned and contradicts subsequent images of Germanic virtue as promoted, among others, by Benjamin Rush.

These qualifications do not detract from the value of this complex and densely documented book but rather attest to its timeliness and relevance as a basis of comparative studies. At a time of editorial constraints, the author, the series editors, and its publisher deserve praise for braving the obstacles of multilingual sources and literature. Colonial historians and Germanists alike will be indebted to Roeber for showing us how the German ways of a very sizeable portion of colonial Americans interacted with the notions of governance of their English peers.

RENATE WILSON  
*Johns Hopkins University*

*The Men and the Vision of the Southern Commercial Conventions, 1845–1871.* By Vicki Vaughn Johnson. (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1992. Pp. x, 328. Appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.50.)

John C. Calhoun opened Memphis's 1845 commercial convention with a call for an increased federal role in the clearing of the Mississippi river. For the next twenty-seven years, a series of commercial conventions (including sixteen major ones) provides historians with a record that at first looks every bit as strange as this call from the great nullifier. From the region that championed states' rights and a strict construction of the Constitution, conventions implored the federal government to increase economic aid to the South. As odd, southerners responded to the threat from an emerging abolitionism with quixotic calls for a resumption of the African slave trade. Even after the Civil War, proposals for leniency toward and aid to white southerners included brash calls for a refund of money collected from the southerners under the federal Cotton Tax. Vicki Vaughn Johnson set herself the worthy task of making sense of the positions developed and supported over the tenure of these conventions.

Johnson looked at the conventions qualitatively and quantitatively. With the goal of establishing her fundamental principle, that the southern conventions were "a durable institution," she did a quantitative survey of the delegates at the conventions.

Here, Johnson provided the specialist with a source of valuable information about the delegates, yet she did not prove her point. For example, looking at the conventions by time periods (or what she called "interests"), Johnson decided the 1845 Memphis convention and the 1852 New Orleans convention were united by a concern for "Internal Improvements," while another seven sessions held between 1852 and 1857 "concerned a broad range of economic issues" (p. 30). One wonders if the South-Western Convention that met in Memphis in 1845 should be considered the first major southern commercial convention. Johnson's statistics do not support this conclusion. Of the 408 delegates at the 1852 New Orleans convention, only eight had gone to Memphis seven years earlier. In comparison, the 1852 New Orleans convention sent ten delegates to Charleston in 1854, sixteen to Memphis in 1853, and had an impressive forty-four return to New Orleans in 1855 (p. 29). Of course, without the 1845 convention, the southern commercial convention looks much less "durable." Not counting the 1845 meeting, this "durable institution" lasted a mere twenty years, which included a ten-year hiatus for the internecine conflict.

Johnson's fundamental assumption also faces serious challenge from someone who questions whether the postbellum conventions were the rightful heir to the antebellum southern commercial conventions. Johnson argued that the conventions before and after the war were dominated by the same type of people: well-to-do southern white males. Persuasive on three points, Johnson did not establish the southern character of the postbellum conventions. Johnson admitted all chairmen of the postbellum conventions had been Unionist. She conceded southerners chaired only three of the five postbellum conventions, yet she did not point out that none of these "southerners" had come from the former Confederacy (p. 76-77). This broad view of "southern" also allowed Johnson to contend four of the five postbellum conventions took place in the South, even though only the first two took place on former Confederate land. By grouping together all former slave states, Confederate and Union, Johnson overlooked one of the most striking trends: the postbellum conventions gained a decidedly northern flavor. Johnson recognized that northerners constituted a new but small contingent at the later conventions. She noticed that 86 percent of delegates were southerners and concluded, "the movement remained predominately a southern one" (p. 24). Yet this figure belies a dramatic change. Beyond the one out of seven northerners in attendance, 3 percent of "southern" delegates and 8 percent of the convention elite were carpet-baggers (p. 187). More striking, the Confederate South's attendance at postbellum conventions dropped to 36 percent of its antebellum level, while the attendance of representatives from Washington D.C., Maryland, and the other border states increased. Despite this shift, Johnson argues that the name change to the National Commercial Convention, which was accepted at the Cincinnati meeting, reflected not a fundamental change in the institution but only a "spirit of reconciliation" (p. 230). But even the agenda of the last conventions, which Johnson describes well, seems to fit a fundamental shift. The last three conventions—held at Louisville, Cincinnati and Baltimore—became the forum for the bid of Cincinnati (allied by the

B&O Railroad to Maryland) to replace Louisville as the focus of commerce for the central South. Understood this way, it is hard to consider the postbellum conventions as anything but the most distant relatives of their antebellum predecessors.

This leaves one obvious question: What can one make of the ten southern commercial conventions that met during the 1850s? Johnson suggests that most of them were dominated by a forward-looking company who wanted to modernize the transportation and communication system of the South. These men supported the "modern liberal economy," liberal understood as an economically active federal government (p. 107). At the last two meetings, politics replaced economics, and the attention of the convention turned to the problems of slavery within the Union. Johnson suggests that the southerners tried to live on "both sides of the dividing line between premodern or prebourgeois society and capitalism" (p. 124). Yet equating slavery with premodern presumes that modernization was at odds with slavery. Southerners held a sharply different view. To preserve slavery in the face of increasingly hostile opponents, many, including John C. Calhoun and J. D. B. De Bow, saw that the South would have to modernize if it were to compete with the rest of the world. The preservation of the slave system required a strong commitment to progress. Describing a modern slave society, Lewis P. Simpson commented, "Such a society . . . would not have been prior to any other society; it would have been more nearly a totally new one" (*The Depressed Garden: Pastoral and History in Southern Literature* [Baton Rouge, 1973], p. 62). Eugene D. Genovese's description of the slaveholders holds particularly well for many of the delegates at the southern commercial conventions. "They saw themselves as men who sought an alternate route to modernity" (*The Slaveholder's Dilemma: Freedom and Progress in Southern Conservative Thought, 1820-1860* [Columbia, S.C., 1992], p. 13). This alternate road took many interesting turns. At one point delegates supported "liberal" government involvement in economic development; at another they supported a reactionary proposal to reopen the African slave trade. Johnson missed the continuity in the short-lived southern commercial conventions, and as a result she did not see the most interesting side of the convention, how a group of men struggled to create a different kind of modern society.

PATRICK H. BREEN

*University of Georgia*

*Leadership during the Civil War.* Edited by Roman J. Heliak and Lawrence L. Hewitt. (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing Co., 1992. Pp. xiv, 196. Illustrations, maps, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth; \$18.95 paper.)

These essays, derived from presentations made at the Third Annual Deep Delta Civil War Symposium, purport to explore Civil War leadership. Some do. As with most enterprises of this sort, the essays are uneven in quality, varying in scope and interest. Several stand out for their efforts to address interesting issues. Richard N. Current offers a persuasive rebuttal to recent characterizations of Abraham Lincoln as a president who disregarded the Constitution in prosecuting the war—a

somewhat ironic essay in light of the view of Lincoln entertained by Current's mentor, William B. Hesseltine. In a measured assessment, Grady McWhiney defends the presidential leadership of Jefferson Davis, suggesting that while Davis's appointments were often influenced by political considerations and personal preferences, it is hard to quibble with his selections for high command in light of available alternatives. One might add that in light of Davis's need to build support for the war effort, the appointment of so-called "political generals" highlights the interpenetration of war and politics during this conflict. Emory Thomas's ruminations about "Young Man Lee" will certainly whet appetites for his forthcoming biography of Marse Robert; they suggest that Thomas's Lee promises to be a real human being rather than the "marble man" entombed in Douglas Southall Freeman's magisterial multi-volume study. Returning to John C. Breckinridge, William C. Davis offers some interesting comments about the Kentuckian's tenure as secretary of war in the last months of the Confederacy. Jon Wakelyn's examination of the speakers of Confederate state legislatures holds promise as an introduction to the underexplored area of Confederate political leadership; Richard M. McMurtry's concluding remarks point to undertaking similar inquiries about small-unit leadership on the battlefield.

Other essays most clearly fall into the "apologist/revisionist" category of military studies. Lawrence L. Hewitt pleads the case of Braxton Bragg, arguing that other factors aside from Bragg's leadership frustrated his invasion of Kentucky in 1862. Mansfield Lovell, whose unsuccessful defense of New Orleans in 1862 led to the closest thing Benjamin Butler had to a battlefield triumph, finds a defender in Arthur W. Bergeron, Jr. These efforts are audacious, perhaps foolhardy, in contrast to several other essays that are limited in scope and ambition. Archie P. McDonald re-summarizes his previously published sentiments about Jedediah Hotchkiss; Edward C. Bearss, whom most people will remember as one of Ken Burns's more animated "talking heads" in PBS's "The Civil War," does the same for Nathan Bedford Forrest at Brice's Cross Roads. Finally, Herman M. Hattaway revisits the actions of Stephen D. Lee at Second Manassas and recounts his first visit to the battlefield—complete with a photo of the author on the ground that is alone almost worth the price of the volume.

The title of the collection is somewhat misleading. Not one essay concerns the military career of a Union officer; in fact, aside from Current's essay, the volume is devoted exclusively to Confederate leadership. This is a bit odd, for these essays honor T. Harry Williams, who wrote extensively on northern leadership. Indeed, the concept of leadership remained mostly undefined. Had the editors excised Current's piece and offered the remaining essays under the title of *Confederate Leaders*, they would have come closer to offering an accurate description of the contents of the collection. Finally, that ever-daunting question of why the Confederacy lost hangs over most of the essays. One recalls the comment of Virginian John S. Wise. Had the Confederacy won, Wise pointed out, "we Southern people would not have had to explain so carefully and frequently why it was we did not succeed. It would have spared us a great deal of wounded pride. Still, I think we

have enough left for all reasonable purposes." But the obsession continues, apparently. Perhaps it is time to remember that a few fellows in blue uniforms had something to do with it.

BROOKS D. SIMPSON  
Arizona State University

*The Spirit of Folk Art: The Girard Collection at the Museum of International Folk Art.* By Henry Glassie. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, in association with the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, 1989. Pp. 276. Color and black & white photographs, illustrations, foreword, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.)

Odds are that this thoroughly colorful book adorns at least as many Maryland coffee tables as any other book on its thoroughly colorful topic—international folk art. After all, over the past ten years Santa Fe's Museum of International Folk Art has more than made up for its physical displacement from East Coast intellectual and artistic circuits with a steady stream of attractive and authoritative publications on a wide range of folk art topics. And author Henry Glassie's writings on Mid-Atlantic folklife, from Pennsylvania craftwork to Virginia vernacular architecture, have established his name as one of few likely to be recognized by Baltimoreans browsing bookstore shelves in search of something large to read and display.

For *The Spirit of Folk Art*, however, these attributes have peculiarly conspired to separate the message from the messenger. The Girard Collection is broad and deep, ancient and modern, its varied objects drawn from Europe, Asia, and Africa, as well as the Americas, with particular strength in figurative woodcarving from Mexico, India, and northern and western Africa. As groups of photographs sequenced in the book, sub-collections of devotional sculpture, painted furniture, or embroidered textiles tell distinct stories about the journeys of shapes, subjects, and techniques from the remote to the familiar, and from the familiar to the artistically prized. In this sense, the expeditions of architect Alexander Girard which built the collection reflect the ascent of folk art itself, from the margins of educated taste to the center of current conversations about the authenticity of expression and experience in the arts.

If the message conveyed by the objects selected from the Girard Collection is discovery and celebration, Henry Glassie's commentary represents a stylish subversion of the photographs that adorn each page. A determined reader who stays Glassie's course through these colorful straits will exit the book with a wise and critical view of folk art—the better to judge the fruits of Mr. Girard's labors (a task Glassie himself largely avoids). But woe to the easily distracted reader. Amid a thorough and thoughtful review of the concept of folk art, Glassie's frequent forays into intellectual and literary history confound the simple expectation that the author's words are intended to elucidate or explain the illustrated objects at hand. As the text winds its way through a colorful forest of imposing and varied illustration, Glassie's views on art and the human spirit frequently dwarf even these images, rendering them at least puzzling, and often inconsequential.

*The Spirit of Folk Art* offers no easy connections between folk art and other kinds of art, nor between folk artists and other kinds of artists. It is not until the second half of the book that any visual reference to the makers of these colorful objects is well established. The occasional appearance of small black and white photographs of contemporary folk artists reinforces the impression that these pictures are the true illustrations for Glassie's text—an impression further confirmed by the fact that unlike the larger color photographs in the book, the "snapshots" were taken by the author. These photographs are documents from Glassie's own research into Irish storytelling, Turkish rugmaking, and Pennsylvania-German "stuff," and while they provide an important element of detail to what is often a very general essay on folk art, their puniness betrays a central argument in Glassie's text regarding the primacy of folk art's creative practitioners and tradition bearers.

In nearly all of Michael Monteaux's color photographs of works from the Girard Collection a single object fills a darkly hued frame. The exceptions, chiefly groupings of painted figurines, focus upon the narrative unity of a scene or event; that is, the arrangement of a group of figurines compose a carved family, dance ensemble, or musical group and thus transform individual objects into parts of a single, unified whole. Monteaux's technique is well suited to satisfying the reader's initial need to comprehend the object, but the scale and unswervingly consistent style of his photographs cast a shadow over Glassie's text and the little black-and-white people who occupy its margins.

*The Spirit of Folk Art* contains a wealth of interesting objects and insights, illustrations and revelations. Readers may wish for, or feel a right to expect more from such distinguished parties. Perhaps a more thorough-going critique of what the Girard Collection is (and isn't), or some evidence that the separate enterprises of collection and scholarship might, when combined at the highest level of quality, yield more than the quantitative sum of words and pictures. *The Spirit of Folk Art* will reward the disciplined reader and engage the browser, although these two, after having spent their time with it, may not have much to talk about except perhaps to wonder if they have read the same book. Ironically, this perplexity seems true for folk art itself, which remains resistant to shared terminology, appraisal, and understanding. For now, *The Spirit of Folk Art* provides convincing proof that advances in folk art collection and scholarship are being made, and that the much anticipated conjunction of these enterprises is yet to come.

CHARLES CAMP

*Maryland State Arts Council*

*History from Things: Essays on Material Culture.* Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, eds. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993. Pp. xvii, 300. Notes. \$49.)

In 1989 the Smithsonian Institution brought together a group of scholars to consider the use of objects—"things"—as evidence for the study of history. Historians traditionally have used documents—that is, words written on paper—as sources



through which to understand the past. Objects, on the other hand, have been the sphere of such scholars as archaeologists, curators, and art historians, who often study those objects as documents in their own right, usually without benefit of written accompaniments. The Smithsonian conference was intended to explore the ways by which scholars from a variety of disciplines, including history, incorporate objects into their exploration of past experience and "to see whether [they] . . . could pierce the boundaries separating them, communicate with one another, and discover common ground" (p. x).

The contributions of seventeen participants have now been published in *History from Things*. These essays represent the work and interests of a wide range of scholars, including historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, art historians, curators, folklorists, and psychologists. The objects they discuss cover a vast span of time and geographic distribution, from ancient Chinese bronzes to fifteenth-century Italian ceramics to a Greek Revival steam engine in South Carolina to a contemporary Pennsylvania town. Within the range of work presented here, the most successful efforts eschew jargon, define carefully the terminology specific to the discipline within which they are written, and anchor the discussion, no matter how theoretical, in the consideration of concrete, tangible examples, with ample use of illustrative material. No two essays follow the same model, but many succeed admirably in presenting informative and provocative explorations of the material culture of past or contemporary societies.

Readers interested specifically in Maryland will find only one essay that addresses the region directly. Archaeologists Mark Leone and Barbara Little use the seventeenth-century street plan of Annapolis, with Charles Willson Peale's design for his Philadelphia museum, to consider the ways in which the region's elite ordered nature, both on the ground and in exhibits, to give a particular social order the appearance of natural law. Other essays, focus on objects that have their counterparts in the Chesapeake region. The insights that art historian Jules David Prown draws from New England card tables and teapots apply equally well to those that graced Chesapeake homes. Thomas Williamson's discussion of the forces that influenced the eighteenth-century transition in England from formal, "rigidly geometric" gardens to equally contrived but natural-looking gardens can be applied to area gardens as well, and is particularly relevant to the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, which combines both garden styles in one outdoor space. Several essays examine the relationship between the technology available to particular cultures and the artifacts they created, relationships that find parallels in the material culture of the Chesapeake.

The editors and essayists are to be commended for using the opportunity offered by publication to revise their material and move beyond the limitations of conference papers. The published essays speak to one another, with the authors drawing links and making fruitful comparisons between their own subjects and those of other contributors. Jules Prown's teapot reappears in Robert Friedel's exploration of the implications contained in the statement "everything is made from something" (p. 42). Ian Brown compares his examination of a New England

cemetery with Pierce Lewis's use of a Pennsylvania town as a document from which to read the past.

Few readers of this volume are likely to be knowledgeable about or interested in all of the artifacts or cultures discussed in these essays, but virtually all readers will bring an interest in one and two and most will find themselves piqued by unexpected questions, original arguments, and novel insights and comparisons. The strength and value of the collection lies in the great diversity—of subject, of time period, of questions asked, of theory applied—encompassed within the essays.

JEAN B. RUSSO

*Historic Annapolis Foundation*

*From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine.* By John Duffy. (2nd edition; Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993. Pp. 419, notes, bibliography, index. \$42.50 cloth; \$14.95 paper.)

As stated in the sub-title, this is a general history of medical practice and institutions in America since the earliest days of British colonization. It is an updated version of a work originally published in 1976. While the general trends in American medicine are presented in thirty- to fifty-year segments, it is the detailed examination of specific topical or thematic areas and personalities associated with the development of medicine that have had the greatest interest and importance in this book.

The thematic approach allows the author to explore the history of medical theory, practice and institutions as diverse as surgery and technology; biology and education; licensing and professional organizations; income and social status; scientific research and quackery; wars and women. Further, and most engagingly, the entire story, both chronological and thematic, is woven together with a general overview of American intellectual, political, and social history as it affected the theory and practice of medicine. Finally, the author, I believe correctly, accepts the practice of medicine to be essentially an art which uses science, not the other way around. This assumption gives the story a unique perspective.

If there is a surprising aspect to this history, it is that the development of American medicine was no clear and straight advance of progress. The author recounts bursts of admirable achievement in medical theory, education, and practice interspersed with periods of decline—decline serious enough to retard progress in the profession for decades. For example, during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth centuries, medical education was a very haphazard and variable affair. For much of the period, formal education was limited to a year or two at a university for some and on-the-job apprentice training for the majority. Most physicians and surgeons simply announced the availability of their services and went into practice. On occasion, the theoretical and practical foundations of this education were so inadequate the result was not only dangerous for the patients but directly hindered the development of alternative, and better, educational and clinical training. Tracing the evolution of medical education in America makes fascinating reading.

Lest one think that the medical profession is now nearing perfection, the final few chapters of the book will certainly provide ample evidence to the contrary. In spite of incredible advances in biology, technology, pharmacology, surgery, and the general scope and diversity of medical services, the author critically examines modern medicine as an institution and, while acknowledging its solid achievements, details the many limitations and failures of contemporary medicine, its practitioners, educational institutions, costs, and service delivery systems.

I had three reservations about the book; each reflects my personal bias rather than any real criticisms of the work. First, the history of American medicine begins in Spanish Florida, not Virginia. Second, I believe the impact of war on the medical profession to have been more substantial and important than does the author. Finally, the book perhaps tries to do too much in too little space.

Still, it is a comprehensive summary history of medicine in America, and if one wishes to pursue any particular topic or personality in greater detail the essential information is present and references to further reading or research are provided. As a one-volume history, it is unsurpassed and should be required reading for all health care professionals, especially doctors and nurses. The profession might benefit greatly if more of its practitioners were conversant with their own history, aware that the present achievements and problems of their profession are thoroughly rooted in the past.

ROBERT HAWK  
*Richmond, Virginia*

*Genealogical Research in Libraries.* By Alloa Anderson and Lorraine Wallace.  
(Traverse City, Mich.: The author, 1992. Pp. 60. \$8.00 paper.)

Libraries can be intimidating places, and sometimes not knowing what is there and where can do more to frustrate a researcher than to help. Just like any other fear of the unknown, that fear will dissipate when sense is made of it; in this case when the researcher finds what sources are available and the general arrangement of a given library or archival facility. This book offers explanations of various classification systems, the use of computer catalogues, organizational tips for genealogical research, what materials are generally available in a given research facility and where to find an item. The difference between primary and secondary sources is explained (which is fundamental) and the various types of reference material which are available, such as maps, directories, magazines and other items that may be unique to a particular facility. This book offers some common-sense advice, and I know a few librarians and catalogers who should read it, too. It should remind us that, as librarians, we are here to help. I commend Mrs. Anderson and Mrs. Wallace for their effort.

JOSEPH C. MAGUIRE, JR.  
*Maryland Historical Society*

*The Jewish People in America.* General editor, Henry L. Feingold. (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Five volumes, \$30 each, \$145 for boxed set. Each with series editor's foreword, preface and acknowledgments, illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay, index. *A Time for Planting: The First Migration, 1654–1820*, by Eli Faber. Pp. xvi, 188. *A Time for Gathering: The Second Migration, 1820–1880*, by Hasia R. Diner. Pp. xvii, 313. *A Time for Building: The Third Migration, 1880–1920*, by Gerald Sorin. Pp. xvii, 306. *A Time for Searching: Entering the Mainstream, 1920–1945*, by Henry L. Feingold. Pp. xvii, 338. *A Time for Healing: American Jewry since World War II*, by Edward S. Shapiro. Pp. xvii, 313.

The descriptive title material alone indicates the size, complexity and the thoroughness of the work. The title of each book echoes a phrase from Ecclesiastes 3:1–8, but the text itself deals with secular Judaism and not religion or religious philosophy. Indeed, two of the authors lament that American Jews practice a civil religion only, and that the significant post–World War II increase in numbers of congregations and numbers of members was due to a desire for identification with Judaism rather than for observing ritual or Jewish tradition. This self-critical observation is an example of Dr. Feingold's promise that this was not to be a celebratory work simply extolling the Jews or their accomplishments. His intent was to produce a work which might be a model for future ethnic histories.

This project was sponsored by the American Jewish Historical Society to mark its own centennial, which coincidentally occurred at the time of the Columbus quincentennial. This reviewer, as an alumnus of the publisher and as a trustee and officer of the sponsor, could be accused of bias; the reader will note, however, that while praising the work as an entirety, a number of shortcomings are set forth. It may be too early since publication in November, 1992, to arrive at a consensus about whether Feingold's and the sponsor's objectives were met, but this is one case when it is just as interesting to review the reviews as to review the books themselves. There have been non-scholarly journalistic reviews, and thoughtful reviews by professional historians and scholars; this piece is neither journalistic in nature nor crafted by a history professor or professional author.

While there is no dearth of literature about the Jewish experience in America, Feingold and others believed that a definitive chronicle could not be handled by one author in a single volume. Some reviewers have commented on the unevenness of the five volumes, but it was inherent in the design that there would be different styles and even different viewpoints on certain topics. These diverse approaches were not excised by the editor or the publisher, and this is to their credit. It was intended that the work would be scholarly, accurate, and occasionally innovative, but not at the expense of readability; this was to be educational yet entertaining for the general reader. Some have said that it could be the ideal Bar Mitzvah gift. The possibility was envisioned that following this historical narrative, there may be future studies focusing on industry, the arts or other broad topics, in order to furnish the in-depth analyses not feasible in this project.

After initial exploration, it was evident to the sponsor that the Johns Hopkins University Press was the premier chronicler of social history, and that as envisioned, the work would not be suitable for a commercial publishing house. To the credit of the publisher, it sought comments, ideas and suggestions from a range of scholars before contracting for publication. These anonymous comments, based on short prospectuses prepared by the editor and each author describing his or her plan and outline of work, were reviewed with Feingold and the authors, and the finished product shows that the authors respected and benefited from them.

An issue raised by at least one scholar pertained to whether the work would include basic original research or would simply be a synthesis of existing material. The volumes do contain some basic research, and recognize the modern historical perceptions related to racial and gender considerations; in a survey and narrative such as this one, however, in order that it be suitable for the general reader, a degree of dependence on earlier work in the field is desirable. Indeed, one or two reviewers praised the skill of synthesis evident in the pages, and all agreed that the voluminous footnotes and the bibliographic essays in each volume produce an unparalleled treasure of reference of value to scholars and teachers for years to come.

The first three volumes focus on the immigrant experience of Jews coming initially from Spain, Portugal, North Africa and Holland, the so-called Sephardic Jews whose language, culture and ritual differed somewhat from those to follow; the second wave, described in Volume II, came from central Europe for the most part, and were called "German" Jews. Hasia Diner's theme is that only a bare majority of the 1820-1880 immigrants had been German for a period of generations, and had simply absorbed German language and other features in their move westward. She disputes the common perception that these "German" Jews were wealthy or educated, and argues that they became the middle class, who, after acculturation to American ways, were responsible for development of the philanthropic and civic fabric of urban Jewish communities along the East Coast and in small towns scattered across the United States. Reviewers noted the originality of her narrative, but some opined that she overstated her case.

The third, and largest, migration, refugees from eastern Europe, established the nature and flavor of Jewish life in America to a greater extent than those who preceded them. Sorin describes the difficulties of these transplants, who did not easily "melt" into the American scene, and whose acculturation was accompanied by anti-semitism to a greater degree than theretofore. Sorin's description of life in the urban centers during this era is replete with Yiddish words without parenthetical translation in the manner of the other authors, and this will exacerbate the difficulty and impinge upon the pleasure of Gentile readers in their effort to absorb the narrative. (The authors all use the capital "G" which is the proper reference to a non-Jew, and which is not used by some of the journalistic reviewers. The term "gentile," which this writer eschews in normal speech, means literally a heathen or pagan person). Sorin describes life and community growth principally in New York, Boston, and Chicago, and one wonders if more extensive research in local history would have produced a more balanced picture.

Volumes IV and V delve into the acculturation process and then examine the growth in intermarriage which has hastened the assimilation of Jews into society, thereby creating the attenuation away from religious emphasis and Jewish tradition. Each author refers to cultural pluralism and its benefits to the Jewish community and to American life. Feingold treats admirably the coming of age of the Jewish community and the integration of talented persons in business, the arts and other facets of American life. He examines critically the development of the organizational and intellectual organizations which pervade the Jewish community, but he notes that their variety and disagreements affected their influence and achievements. It was during the interwar period that Roosevelt's liberal policies and politics attracted many of the Jews referred to by Sorin as active in labor-management and Socialism of the early decades of the century. Feingold points out that the Jews around Roosevelt were not religious Jews; were they influential American Jews or were they men of influence and ability who happened to be Jewish? Certainly Baruch, Frankfurter and others were not known for their activity in the Jewish community or their positions in matters that were important to Jews.

It is apparent in retrospect that the proliferation of Jewish organizations, beginning even before World War I but intensified after it, reflected the ideological and social diversity that was to result in a "rudderless quality in communal life." Feingold admires the accomplishments of Jewish immigrants but deplors the failure in the public sector which stood in contrast to those private achievements. These realities led to the inability of American Jews to speak with one voice or to exercise any real power when it was needed to protect Jews in Europe and elsewhere. The Jewish love affair with Roosevelt, says Feingold perceptively, had the most decisive effect here and abroad. Roosevelt and his administration were riddled with anti-semitism; Jews were guilty of apathy and disorganization. Jewish leadership maintained many a low profile; polls showed that even after the fall of France, many Jews believed it was advisable to stay out of the war.

This led to the great debate about American Jewry's failure during the Holocaust. They did not agree on the nature and extent of the Nazi threat, much less how to respond to it; there was neither coherence or amplification, which had its origins as early as the congressional debates on immigration policy. Put simply, Jewish leaders feared that a campaign for liberalizing immigration would intensify an anti-semitic backlash. While Zionism had been growing among certain Jews, and the principle of a Jewish state in the future was recognized by many, it was the refugee crisis rather than Zionist ideology that finally earned Zionism a measure of acceptance among American Jews. And for many more, it was not until after the State of Israel was established and the Six Day War thrilled the world and American Jews with it, that consensus, strength, and unification of purpose became reality.

Shapiro's fifth volume in the series generated most adverse comment from reviewers. He is criticized for lacking interpretive vision and for being flippant, among other characteristics. However, his work may be the most readable and informative in many spheres. His concern for religious apathy and the increasing rate of intermarriage spells a sense of despondency and pessimism, which he readily

admits; Shapiro foresees unhappy and unproductive times ahead for the Jewish community. What one reviewer sees as flippancy this writer sees as effective humorous expression. Examples out of context are often useless, but in discussing the aftermath of World War II and the Holocaust, Shapiro observes that the concept of the Jews as God's Chosen People seemed absurd: "God should choose some other people for a change and give the Jews a respite."

Shapiro's volume deals with all those forces and events within the memory and experience of the reader, and the feelings it evokes are fresh ones. He deals with the fact that the American Jewish community had become 40 percent of the world's Jewish population and were looked to for leadership, scholarship, and financing, among other things. He describes the "fall" of Yiddish as a sort of glue for many Jewish families; now New York was looked to as the center for libraries, for publishing and for many of the intellectual activities formerly in Europe. He describes the founding of Brandeis University at a time when fund-raising was needed for resettlement and support of the struggling community in Palestine. Brandeis was compared by its first president to Harvard and Yale as centers for Protestant education and Georgetown and Notre Dame as centers for Roman Catholic education; Brandeis was to be a host for persons of all faiths seeking education, and this approach helped to raise the funds needed.

Hebrew was no longer the language of prayer alone after the creation of the State of Israel; it was now the language of a living people, of modern literature and of national diplomacy. Colleges and universities across America began to teach Jewish history and to form departments for Jewish studies. This movement was seen as a double-barreled approach to combat assimilation and anti-semitism. These were still the two great fears of Jewish intellectuals and religious leaders.

Shapiro also dwells on the increasing acceptability of Jews, a concomitant of the decrease in anti-semitism after the war. He uses a movie quip to make his point that in terms of social and economic mobility, the postwar years were good ones for Jews, but in terms of Jewish continuity and tradition, they were bad news. He quotes the character played by Walter Matthau in a motion picture, a character who was three-quarters Lutheran and only one grandparent was Jewish, yet he called himself a Jew because "I'm a social climber."

A great deal of Shapiro's book is devoted to the study of social Judaism as contrasted with traditional Jewishness; the growth of congregations and membership in the Jewish community emphasized the continuity of life-cycle events rather than the study and adherence to the values of Judaism. Shapiro cites a number of instances and habits to illustrate his thesis, and his criticism of the rabbinate as well for encouraging the abandonment (or at least movement away from) traditional Jewish theology in matters such as the role of women in the synagogue. From this platform relating to traditional worship and obligations of life, Shapiro leaps to a consideration of causes and the political process, deemed by most Jews to be the means to a better world.

Jews consider themselves to be liberal in politics and civil rights; therefore, Shapiro asserts, they were flabbergasted in the 1960s to find that after all that Jews had done

and sacrificed for the advancement of blacks in society, anti-semitism had grown in the black community. Jews had done things for blacks but seldom with blacks, and for blacks, it seemed, the most important thing about Jews was that they are white. This anomaly still puzzles non-sociologists among the Jews.

Shapiro ends his book by citing that Neil Rudenstine, son of a Russian Jew, attained the highest position in academia in 1991 when he became president of Harvard University, but he closes with the observation that Rudenstine admits that he is not familiar with Jewish holidays or Holy Days and has only a tenuous relationship with Jewish matters. Perhaps, he opines, Jews will survive the freedom and prosperity of America.

The Marylander, alert to how his state and its Jewish population related to the national scene, will find references to Baltimore and to Maryland throughout the five volumes. However, since such a large segment of the Jewish population lived in New York and other major urban centers, Baltimore does not figure as a large or important site. Faber, in his discussion of the mobility of early Jews, mentions that some of the earliest Baltimore Jews came from Lancaster; he contrasts Baltimore to Richmond, Savannah, and other small cities, speculating that the unstable Jewish population of Baltimore may have been due to the absence of civil rights accorded to Jews prior to 1826.

Diner, herself a professor of American Studies at the University of Maryland at College Park, devotes more space to Baltimore than any other author. She points to the residential clustering of the Jewish community beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when German Jews moved north and westward and the Eastern European Jews lived in east Baltimore. While the Jewish community of Washington grew after 1930 from 25,000 to 175,000, in the earlier days the Washingtonians buried their dead in Baltimore cemeteries; now its community is twice the size of Baltimore's.

Diner relates the founding of the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation soon after civil rights were granted to Jews; then a few years later, the Har Sinai Verein (Society) became the first in the United State founded as a Reform congregation. Its spiritual leader was David Einhorn who was forced to leave because of his rabid abolitionist views, sermons, and writings, the implication being that his congregants were fearful of upsetting their Gentile neighbors, customers, and associates who were largely Confederate sympathizers.

Two issues in Baltimore related tangentially to anti-semitism, one which had a religious bearing and one did not. Jews resisted proposed legislation that would ban sales of merchandise on Sunday, deciding to risk the anti-semitism that might be caused; Jews were prohibited from doing business on the shabbat or Saturday, and for them to have to close on Sunday, too, they believed, was an unfair impact upon their ability to earn a living. This was one issue on which Jews across the country united in fighting state laws they deemed discriminatory and unfair. The other issue seen by some was not really an issue at all. In 1854 there was organized the Hebrew Young Men's Association, notwithstanding the prior existence of the Young Men's Christian Association. In this instance, however, the founding of such



organizations in Baltimore and elsewhere had no religious significance; it was simply that the social and athletic habits of Jewish youth drew them together for contests and intellectual pursuits as well.

Sorin also refers to Jewish mobility at the end of the nineteenth century, just as in earlier times. He points to the low Baltimore and Ohio Railroad fares from Baltimore to Chicago as an important factor in the westward movement of Eastern European Jews. In the labor-management struggles before World War I, he tells about the aid which was received by Jewish laborers from Gentile neighbors both financially and gifts of food as well as active participation on the picket lines.

Feingold points to the low crime rate among Jews in Baltimore resulting in the problem that the small number of convicts in the Maryland Penitentiary made it difficult to recruit a minyan (the minimum of ten males required for a religious service), so that volunteers from the community were asked to attend on Saturdays, at least, in order that Jewish convicts could pray for their release. Shapiro's sole reference to Baltimore is to observe that it was the first major city to have a female president of its federation of Jewish charitable organizations.

There is no doubt that the sponsor, the publisher, and the five authors have done a commendable job, not free from errors, but nevertheless productive of a valuable work.

ROBERT L. WEINBERG

*Baltimore*

## Books Received

Students of the Civil War will delight in two additional volumes in the University of Nebraska Press's Bison Books paperback reprint series: Carlton McCarthy's *Detailed Minutiae of Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia, 1861-1865*, originally published in 1882, includes illustrations by William L. Sheppard and a modern introduction by Brian S. Willis. McCarthy set down this personal recollection long enough after the fact to see the humor in much of his experience, but not so late as to have forgotten the horrors of combat. He wrote with a flair—and an edge.

Nebraska, \$9.95

Lloyd Lewis's *Sherman: Fighting Prophet*, dating from 1932, reappears with an introduction by Brooks D. Simpson. Lewis's highly sympathetic account of Sherman and his style of (or insight into modern) war reads well despite its age. Simpson's essay nicely prepares one for the book that was supposed to lead Lewis onto his true biographical object, U.S. Grant. After Lewis's death in 1949 Bruce Catton took up the task.

Nebraska, \$20

*Hilton Heritage*, the story of the Hilton estate that now forms part of the Catonsville Community College campus, has appeared in a revised second edition, the work of history professor Bayly Ellen Marks. Hilton, she makes clear, has had an eventful history—much though not all of it connected to the Civil War exploits of the newspaperman Wilkins Glenn, a Southern sympathizer.

Catonsville Community College, \$5

The growing number of people who count themselves friends of the Potomac River and take pains to explore it will find pleasurable reading in Richard L. Stanton's *Potomac Journey: Fairfax Stone to Tidewater*. Congressman Stewart L. Udall supplies a foreword to the book, a compendium of history, recollection, and miscellany. Stanton once served as superintendent of the C&O Canal National Park.

Smithsonian, \$24.95

Seventy-four pages long, with ten maps, Lawrence E. Babits's *Cowpens Battlefield: A Walking Guide* helps one safely navigate the site near Greensboro, North Carolina, but also adds to the sum of our knowledge of the engagement. One may enjoy reading it whether on the field or in an armchair.

Overmountain Press, \$6.95

# Notices

## MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY BOOK PRIZE

Each year the Maryland Historical Society offers a prize of one thousand dollars to the author or editor of an unusually distinguished work exploring Maryland history and culture and published in the preceding two years. Publishers nominate titles for this prize and are asked to submit four copies of each entry. Deadline for the 1994 award is 1 March.

## MARITIME HISTORY CONTEST

Sponsored by the maritime committee of the Maryland Historical Society and the University of Baltimore Education Fund, this contest promotes scholarly research in the field of Maryland maritime history. Subjects that prospective authors might consider include all aspects of Maryland seafaring: ships, sailing vessels, steamboats, small craft, cargoes, passengers carried on Maryland's vessels, naval officers and crew, maritime shipping, transportation, ports and economics, naval activities, and maritime law. Papers should rely on primary sources and not exceed six thousand words in length. In preparing their essays, authors should follow the contributors' guidelines published in the spring 1989 issue of *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The deadline for submission will be 28 May 1994 with the winners announced in the fall of 1994. Cash awards are given to the authors of the top three papers in this competition, and winning entries will be considered for publication in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Participants must submit four copies of their work to the Maritime Essay Contest, Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. For further information, phone Catherine Rogers at (410) 685-3750.

## LIBRARY OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY HISTORY DEDICATED

In early September the Montgomery County Historical Society dedicated its newly renovated and expanded library. The library staff, headed by librarian and county historian Jane Sween, offers the only research and reference services for those wishing to learn more about Montgomery County's rich history from colonial times to the present.

## POWERS OF PERSUASION AT NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Combining symbols, pictures, and slogans, the National Archives has created a major exhibition drawing from its collection of World War II materials. The

exhibition opens 25 February 1994, at the National Archives Circular Gallery. For more information, call (202) 501-5525.

#### 1994 PHILADELPHIA ANTIQUES SHOW

Fifty-six distinguished antique dealers will exhibit American, English, and Asian antiques at the 33rd Street Armory during the 33rd Annual Philadelphia Antiques Show. Open 9 April through 13 April 1994, the show benefits the Hospital of the University of Pennsylvania. For information about ticket purchases, call (215) 387-3500.

#### ARKANSAS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION CALL FOR PAPERS

The Arkansas Historical Association announces a call for papers for its 1994 annual meeting, this year exploring "A Diversity of Cultures: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Arkansas History." For further information contact program chairs Constance E. Caret or Jeannie M. Wayne at (501) 575-5884.

#### A CALL FOR KODACHROME SLIDES

Seeking Kodachrome slides of people in everyday life taken in postwar America for a book entitled *Americans in Kodachrome: Photographic Folk Art, 1945-1965*. Those wishing to submit slides, which will be returned, are invited to call (212) 226-3399.

#### EDITORIAL SEARCH

The publications committee of the Maryland Historical Society announces a search for editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Applicants should send a letter explaining their interest and qualifications and enclosing a copy of a current curriculum vitae to Mr. Sam Hopkins, 45 Warrenton Road, Baltimore, Maryland 21210, by 1 February 1994.

#### ERRATA

Following are two corrections (in italics) to misprints in the text of "The Family Papers of Maj. Gen. Robert Ross, the Diary of Col. Arthur Brooke, and the British Attacks on Washington and Baltimore of 1814," by Christopher George, which appeared in the fall issue (vol. 88, no. 3) of this magazine. On page 303, the passage should read, ". . . we halted, and remained there until five in the evening, when we again proceeded *for* Washington, . . ." On page 311 General Ross's letter should read, ". . . (All my hopes were in a moment *blasted*) . . ."

We regret the errors.

# Maryland Picture Puzzle

Test your knowledge of Maryland history by identifying the location and date of this Western Maryland scene.

The fall 1993 Picture Puzzle depicts the Ocean City Railroad Station in Worcester County (ca. 1895).

Our congratulations to Mr. Raymond Martin and Mr. Percy Martin who correctly identified the summer 1993 Picture Puzzle.

Please send your answers to:

Picture Puzzle  
Prints & Photographs Division  
Maryland Historical Society  
201 West Monument street  
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## Index to Volume 88

### A

- Aerial*, ship, 273  
 African Colonization Society, 326  
 African Americans, 140, -free, 317-36; employment in World War II, 408-9, 420-43, 452-53, 454; -housing, 425-29; -integration in World War II, 408-9; colonization, 324-36; as seamen, 27, 33; as servants, 40; as slaves, 73-88, 163, 181  
*Afro-American*, newspaper, 422-24, 427, 430-33  
 AGLE, ANNA BRADFORD AND SIDNEY HOVEY WANZER, eds., "Dearest Braddie: Love and War in Maryland, 1860-1861, Part 2," 337-58  
 AGLE, ANNA BRADFORD AND WANZER, SIDNEY HOVEY, eds., "Dearest Braddie: Love and War in Maryland, 1860-61, Part 1," 73-88  
 Agriculture Society of the Eastern Shore, 182  
 agriculture, 194, 199; 19th century, 182-83  
 aircraft, World War II, 389-419, 444-61  
 alcoholism, 62-69  
*Alicia*, schooner, 26  
 Allegany County Court, 293  
 Allegany County, Md, 208  
 Altschul, Selig, 444-45, 450  
 Anderson & Co., E. H., 183  
 Anderson and Campbell, 183  
 Anderson, Aloa and Lorraine Wallace, *Genealogical Research in Libraries*, reviewed, 489-90  
 ANDERSON, GEORGE M., S.J., Ed., "The Approach of the Civil War as Seen in the Letters of James and Mary Anderson of Rockville," 189-202  
 Anderson, Dr. James, 43, 189  
 Anderson, James Wallace, 189-200  
*Andrew Grey*, ship, 26  
 Anglican Church, 5-20  
*Ann Wayne*, brig, 1840, 26  
*Annals and Memorials of the Handys and Their Kindred*, by Isaac W. K. Handy, reviewed, 240  
*Apollo*, see *Chestertown Spy*, 40, 46  
 Archer, Stephen M., *Junius Brutus Booth: Theatrical Prometheus*, reviewed, 237-39  
 Armor, Rev. Samuel, 44  
 Armstrong, Thom M., review by, 374-75  
 Arnold, Gen. Henry H., 391, 397, 402  
 art and artists, 38-47  
 Azrael, Lou, 408

### B

- Bahamas - history, 1840s, 27-28

- "BALTIMORE-BAHAMIAN TRADE BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR: SAMUEL R. KEENE, THE JAMES POWER, EMILY ANN THOMPSON, AND MILTON" by Peter T. Dalleo, 26-37  
 Baltimore - Act of Incorporation, 1745, 153-69; 1796, 172  
 Baltimore - development, 1632-1796, 151-73; 18th century, 151-73; economic history, 1632-1796, 151-73; 1799-1802, 261-85; 1939-1945, 420-43; War of 1812, 300-16  
*Baltimore American*, newspaper, 66  
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1834-1988, 132-47, 204  
 Baltimore City Health Department, 425-26  
 Baltimore County, Md - Civil War, 1861-1865, 73-88, 337-58  
 Baltimore County, Md - economic history, 389-419  
*Baltimore Evening Sun*, newspaper, 430, 433, 436  
 "THE BALTIMORE MERCHANTS' WAR-SHIPS: MARYLAND AND PATAPSCO IN THE QUASI-WAR WITH FRANCE," by Frederick C. Leiner, 261-85  
 Baltimore National Defense Training School, 408  
*Baltimore Patriot*, newspaper, 61, 66-67  
*Baltimore Sun*, newspaper, 77, 193-200, 429, 432, 436  
*Baltimore's Cast Iron Buildings & Architectural Ironwork*, James D. Diltz and Catherine F. Black, eds., reviewed, 476-79  
 Banks, William, 326  
 Bantem, Joseph, 329  
 Barnes, Robert, reviews by, 111-12, 240, 364-65  
 Barry, James, 264, 278n  
 Barry, Md, 134-47  
 Beck, Lewis A., Jr., review by, 234-35  
*Before Antietam: The Battle for South Mountain*, by John Michael Priest, reviewed, 240-42  
 Bell, Edwin, 207  
 Bender, Frank, 410  
 Bennett, Mrs. Susan, 183  
 Benson, Perry, 182  
 BENTLEY, AMY, "Wages of War: The Shifting Landscape of Race and Gender in World War II Baltimore," 420-43  
*Bergere, La*, corvette, 272  
 Berlin, Ira, and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, reviewed, 372-74  
 Berlin, Md, 134-47  
 Bertorelli, Louis, 398, 401  
 "BETWEEN MUNICH AND PEARL HARBOR: THE GLENN L. MARTIN AIRCRAFT COM-

- PANY GEARS UP FOR WAR, 1938-1941," by John R. Breihan, 389-419
- Black, Catherine F., and James D. Diltz, eds, *Baltimore's Cast Iron Buildings & Architectural Ironwork*, reviewed, 476-79
- Bladensburg, Battle of, 302, 305
- Blair, Francis Preston, 1854, 189
- Blair, Montgomery, 1854, 189-96
- Blassingame, John W. and McKivigan, John R., eds., *The Frederick Douglass Papers. Series One. Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*, reviewed, 246-47
- Bodnar, John, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, reviewed, 89-94
- Bold Venture, 1695, 167-71
- Bond's Marsh, 170-71
- BOND, CHRYSTELLE TRUMP, "Homefront Heroes: Jitterbugging in Wartime Baltimore," 462-72
- Bond, John, 170
- Bonnell, Robert, 429
- Bonny, Jane Karkalits, Barbara C. Mallonee and Nicholas Fessenden, *Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Homewood and Stony Run*, reviewed, 362-64
- Boritt, Gabor S., ed., *Why the Confederacy Lost*, reviewed, 95-108
- Boston, sloop, 30
- Boutelle, Richard, 451, 456
- Bowie, Gov. Oden, 203, 205
- Bowley, Daniel, 169-71
- Bray, Rev. Thomas, 6-7, 10
- Bredhoff, Stacey, Editor *Draw! Political Cartoons from Left to Right*, reviewed, 249-50
- Breen, Patrick H., review by, 481-83
- BREIHAN, JOHN R., "Between Munich and Pearl Harbor: The Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company Gears Up for War, 1938-1941," 389-419
- Brockenbrough, Judge John, Lexington, Va., 204
- Brooke, Col. Arthur, 300-16
- Brooks, Henry P., 320
- BROWN, C. CHRISTOPHER, "Maryland's First Political Convention by and for Its Colored People," 324-36
- "BRUNSWICK'S 'BLESSED CURSE': SURVIVING AN INDUSTRIAL LEGACY," by Richard Love, 132-149
- Brunswick, Md., 1834-1988, 132
- BRYAN, JENNIFER A., "The Tilghman Papers," 297-99
- Buchanan, James, 268, 282n
- Buchanan, Judge John, 293
- Burns, Helen "Bobbie," 468
- Bushnell, Eleanore, *Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impeachment Trials*, reviewed, 247-49
- The Business of May Next: James Madison and the Founding*, by William Lee Miller, reviewed, 375-76

## C

- Cairns, Larry, 468-69
- Callister, Elizabeth, 44
- Callister, Sarah, 44
- Calvert, Benedict Leonard, 5
- Cambridge African Colonization Society, 326
- Cambridge Herald, newspaper, 62
- Cambridge, Md., 61
- Camp, Charles, review by, 485-86
- Campbell, Archibald, 264-65, 279n
- Campbell, Richard, 145-47
- Canton, Md., 168
- Caribbean -Md. trade in, 26-34, 261-85
- Carmody, John, 405
- Carroll, Charles, 8, 11
- Carroll, Charles, of Annapolis, 153-63
- Carroll, Charles, of Carrollton, 163
- Carroll, James, 156
- Carroll, John Lee, 207
- Carrollton estate, 163
- Catholics - Md., 5-20
- Cecilia, schooner, 274, 284n
- Champion, steamboat, 186
- Chapelle, Howard I., 267, 282n
- Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 134-35, 207
- Chesapeake and Ohio Railway, 1960, 140-45
- Chesapeake Bay Schooners*, by Quentin Snediker and Ann Jensen, reviewed, 234-35
- Chesapeake USS*, sloop of war, 261
- Chestertown [New Town], Md., 39
- Chestertown Spy*, 40, 46
- Chicago Bridge and Iron Company, 456-58
- Cincinnati, Society of, in Maryland, 264
- Civil War, 1861-1865, Md., 62, 73-88, 189-200, 337-58; -military service, 203-8
- Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism*, by George C. Rable, reviewed, 118-19
- Claggett, Zacharia S., 207
- Clarissa, schooner, 274
- Clark, James C., 205
- Clemm, Maria, 65
- Cleveland, Pres. Grover, 207-8
- Coates, Hazel, 435
- Cobb, Josiah, 317-22
- Cochelle, Eleanor, 468
- Cochelle, Ted, 468
- Cochrane, Adm. Sir Alexander, 302, 305, 311
- Cockburn, Adm. 308, 310-13, 315n
- Cole's Harbour, 151-68

- Cole, James, 450  
 Cole, Thomas, 264, 279n  
 Colegate, John, 151-55  
 Colegate, Richard, 151-55  
 Colegate, Thomas, 151-55  
 "THE COLLAPSE OF EQUITY: CATHOLIC AND QUAKER DISSENTERS IN MARYLAND, 1692-1720," by Michael J. Graham, S.J., 5-25  
 College of Philadelphia, 38  
*Constellation*, USF, 53  
 Cooper, James, 33  
 Copperheads, 208  
 Copus Harbour, 153, 160  
 Copus, John, 153  
 Corcorran, Sargeant, 271, 275  
 Cornthwaite, John 168  
 Cowan, Raymond P., review by, 112-13  
 Craig, Peter Stebbins, *The 1693 Census of Swedes on the Delaware: Family Histories of the Swedish Lutheran Church Members Residing in Pennsylvania, Delaware, West New Jersey, and Cecil County, Maryland, 1638-1693*, reviewed, 364-65  
*Crimes, Follies, and Misfortunes: The Federal Impachment Trials*, by Eleanore Bushnell, reviewed, 247-49  
 Crofton, Capt. Edward, 313  
 Crown, Sam, 197  
*Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, Ira Berlin and Philip D. Morgan, eds., reviewed, 372-74  
 Cumberland, Md., 140  
 Cunningham, Rachel, 288-94  
 CURTIS, PETER H., "Murder in Western Maryland: The Life and Death of George Swearingen, Sheriff of Washington County," 286-96

## D

- D'Unger, Dr. Robert, 60-69  
 Dale, Richard, 276  
 DALLEO, PETER T., "Baltimore-Bahamian Trade before the Civil War: Samuel R. Keene, the *James Power*, *Emily Ann Thompson*, and *Milton*, 26-37  
 dancing, -20th century, 462-72  
 Daniels, Christine, review by, 360-62  
 David's Fancy, 156, 163  
 Dawson, Congressman John, 276  
 Dawson, James, 183  
 "DEAREST BRADDIE: LOVE AND WAR IN MARYLAND, 1860-1861, PART 2," Anna Bradford Agle and Sidney Hovey Wanzer, eds., 337-58  
 "DEAREST BRADDIE: LOVE AND WAR IN MARYLAND, 1860-61, PART 1," by Anna

- Bradford Agle and Sidney Hovey Wanzer, eds., 73-88  
 Delaware & Maryland Rail Road, 182  
 Dependent Pension Act, 1887, 208  
*Did Pocahontas Save Captain John Smith?*, by J. A. Leo Lemay, reviewed, 368-72  
 Diltz, James D. and Catherine F. Black, eds., *Baltimore's Cast Iron Buildings & Architectural Ironwork*, reviewed, 476-79  
 Dixon, James, 293  
 Dobson, Charles, 332  
*Dorade, La*, letter of marque, 274  
 Doughoregan estate, 163  
 Douglas, Henry Kyd, 203-9  
 Douglas, Mary (Robertson), 204  
 Douglas, Rev. Robert, 204  
 Douglass, Frederick, 324  
 Draper, Garrison, 325  
*Draw! Political Cartoons from Left to Right*, ed. by Stacey Bredhoff, reviewed, 249-50  
 Dreiser, Theodore, 62  
 Drummond, Mrs. Ophelia, 436  
 Duffy, John, *From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine*, reviewed, 488-89  
 Dugan, Cumberland, 1794, 171-72  
 Dukehart, Thomas, 26  
 Dunn, Mary, 40

## E

- Eager, George, 155  
 Eager, Ruth, 155  
*Early American Methodism*, by Russel E. Richey, reviewed, 112-13  
 Eastern Avenue, Baltimore, 403  
 Eastern Shore - Md., 38-47, 181-87, 297-99; in 1861, 77; 18th century, 7, 18  
*Easton Star*, newspaper, 183-86  
 Easton Academy, 184  
 Easton Bank, 182  
 Easton Hotel "Brick Hotel," 184  
 Easton, Md., 1850, 181-87  
*Easton*, steamboat, 184  
 Eaton, Carol, and Lillian B. Miller, *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778-1860*, reviewed, 475-76  
 Eclectic Medical College, Pa., 61  
 economy, 166, 195, 208; in Brunswick, 132-47.  
     See also agriculture, merchants, money, ships and shipping, trade  
 Education - Easton, Md., 19th century, 184; -of sailors, 1829-31, 53-59  
 Edwards, John, 139  
 Eisenberg, Gerson, , *Marylanders Who Served the Nation: A Biographical Dictionary of Federal Officials from Maryland*, reviewed, 359-60



Elkton, Md., -economic history, World War II, 456-58  
 Ellicott, William M., 320  
*Emily Ann Thompson*, schooner, 26, 30, 34  
*Empire*, ship, 30  
 Engle, "Buck," 139  
 Enslinger, Robert F., *The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and Distribution in North America*, reviewed, 235-37  
 Episcopal Church, 184-85  
*Escape*, ship, 274  
 Esslinger, Dean, review by, 365-66  
 Etzel, Michael, 410  
 Evans, Kenyon E., 453  
 Evans, Lt. George de Lacy, 305, 308, 310  
*Experiment*, schooner, 266

## F

Fairchild Aircraft Corporation, 444-61  
 Fairchild, Sherman, 446  
 Falls, Capt. Thomas, 309  
 Falls, Dr. Moore, 264, 279n  
 Farmer's Bank of Easton, 182  
 farming, 194, 199  
 Farrell, Michael R. et al., *History of Baltimore's Streetcars*, reviewed, 366-67  
 Fauntleroy, Susan, 146  
 Federal Hill, 1732, 156-57  
 Feingold, Henry L., ed., *The Jewish People in America*, reviewed, 491-96  
 Fell, Edward, 151-60  
 Fell, William, 152-65  
 Fells Point, 167-73  
 Fell's Prospect, 165-69  
 Ferguson, Rev. Colin, 44  
 Fessenden, Nicholas, Barbara C. Mallonce, and Jane Karkalits Bonny, *Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Homewood and Stony Run*, reviewed, 362-64  
 fine art, 38-47  
*The Fire-Eaters*, by Eric H. Walther, reviewed, 244-45  
 Fisher, Charles O., 329, 332  
*Florida*, ship, 272  
 Foley, Edward, 400-1  
*Forged by Fire: Maryland's National Guard at the Great Baltimore Fire of 1904*, by Dean K. Yates, reviewed, 365-66  
 Fortesque, Sir John, 305  
 Fortie, Jacob, 328  
 Fox, Josiah, 281n  
 Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., 1859, 204  
 Frederick County Office of Economic and Community development, 1981, 144

*The Frederick Douglass Papers*. Series One. Speeches, Debates, and Interviews. Volume 5, 1881-95, ed. by John W. Blassingame and John R. McKivigan, reviewed, 246-47  
 Friendly Inn, 422  
 Frizel, Paul, 453  
*From Humors to Medical Science: A History of American Medicine*, by John Duffy, reviewed, 488-89  
 Fuller, Thomas, 326, 329, 332-34

## G

Gaddy, David Winfred, review by, 473-74  
 Gantt, Catherine Ann (Anderson), 1860, 189  
 Gantt, Edward, 189  
 GARRETT POWER, "Parceling Out Land in the Vicinity of Baltimore: 1632-1796, Part 2," 151-180  
 Gay, Nicholis Ruxton, 155, 159  
 Geddes, Henry, 268, 271, 272, 274-77, 284n  
*Genealogical Research in Libraries*, by Alloo Anderson and Lorraine Wallace, reviewed, 489-90  
 GEORGE, CHRISTOPHER T., "The Family Papers of Maj. Gen. Robert Ross, the Diary of Col. Arthur Brooke, and the British Attacks on Washington and Baltimore of 1814," 300-16  
 Gerry, Elbridge, 262  
 Gilbert, Ron, 140  
 Giles, Jacob, 156  
 Giles, John, 156  
 Gilmor, Robert, 264, 278n  
 Gist's Inspection, 156-67  
 Gist, Richard, 1732, 156  
 Glascock, Elizabeth Catherine, 307-9, 313  
 Glassie, Henry, *The Spirit of American Folk Art: The Girard Collection at the Museum of International Folk Art*, reviewed, 485-86  
 Gleig, George Robert, 301, 306  
 Glenn L. Martin Aircraft Company, 389-419, 423  
*Gloria da Mar*, brig, 273  
 Gold Street Club, 430  
 Goldsborough and Dawson, 183  
 Goldsborough family, 181-82  
 Goldsborough, Henry H., 183  
 Goldsborough, Robert H., 182  
 Goodspeed, John, 410  
 Gorsuch, Charles, 156  
 Goucher College Club, 468  
 Govanstown Society of Inquiry, 325  
 Governors - Md., 18th century, 7-13  
 GRAHAM, MICHAEL J., S.J., "The Collapse of Equity: Catholic and Quaker Dissenters in Maryland, 1692-1720," 5-25  
 Greenleaf's Point, 306  
 Grey Rock, 155

Groome, William, 182  
*Gunboat No. 5*, ship, 266  
 Gutman, Arthur J., review by, 110–11

## H

- Hagerstown Academy, 205  
*Hagerstown Mail*, newspaper, 207–8  
 Hagerstown, Md., 204–5  
 Hambleton family, 181–82  
 Hambleton, Samuel, 184  
 Hamilton, William T., Senator, 205  
 Hammond family, 182  
 Hammond, Nicholas, 182  
 Handy, Isaac W. K., *Annals and Memorials of the Handy's and Their Kindred*, reviewed, 240  
 Handy, James A., 326–32  
 Harbaugh, Leonard, 164–67  
 Hardesty, William T., 183  
 Harkin, William T., 183  
 Harlan, Josiah, 317–18  
 Harper's Ferry, W. Va., 84–88  
*Harper's Weekly*, 194  
*Harriet*, brig, 32  
 Harrington family, 181  
 Harris, Frederick, 330  
 Harrison family, 73, 182  
 Harrison, Anne Catherine Bradford, 73–88, 337–58  
 Harrison, George, 276  
 Harrison, James A., 60–61  
 Harrison, Thomas, 1742, 154–70  
 Hartson, Joseph, 400  
 Harwood, Benjamin, 264, 280n  
 Hawk, Robert, review by, 488–89  
 Hawkins, John, 133–34  
 Hektoen, Josef L., 450  
 Heleniak, Roman J. and Lawrence L. Hewitt, eds., *Leadership During the Civil War*, reviewed, 483–85  
*Henry Jenkins*, ship, 26  
 "HENRY KYD DOUGLAS: RECONSTRUCTED REBEL," by Dana Shadel, 203–9  
 Henry, Frank, 452  
 Henson, Dick, 456  
 Hewitt, Lawrence L. and Roman J. Heleniak, eds., *Leadership During the Civil War*, reviewed, 483–85  
 Hewitt, Mary E., 64–65  
 Hicks, Gov. Thomas Holliday, 75–87, 191  
 HIGHAM, JOHN, "Managing American Memories," 89–94  
 Hill, Air Marshall Roderic, 411–12  
 Hill, Stephen W., 328, 330  
*History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, eds., reviewed, 487–88  
*History of Baltimore's Streetcars*, by Michael R. Farrell et al., reviewed, 366–67  
 Hollingsworth, Levi, 273  
 Hollyday family, 181  
 Hollyday, Rebecca, 182  
 Holt, Michael F., *Political Parties and American Political Development from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln*, reviewed, 115–17  
 "HOMEFRONT HEROES: JITTERBUGGING IN WARTIME BALTIMORE," by Chrystelle Trump Bond, 462–72  
 Hopkins, Henry, 329  
 Hopkins, Samuel B., 183  
 Hopkins, Samuel, review by, 362–64  
*Hornet*, sloop of war, 266  
 housing, 18th century, 165  
 Howard, Cornelius, 155–63  
 Howard, John Eager, 163–73, 264, 279n  
 Howard, John, 155  
 Howard, Joshua, 155  
 Howard, Rachel, 155–56  
 Howard's Addition, 165  
 Howard's Square, 155  
*Hugh Jenkins*, steamboat, 184  
 Hughes, Christopher, 166–67  
 Hughes, Gov. Harry, 145  
 Hughes, Samuel, 267  
 Hughlett family, 181–82  
 Hughlett, William, 182  
 Hunter, Pattie, 195  
 HURST, HAROLD W., "Notes on Antebellum Easton," 181–88  
 Hurst, John, 151–57

## I–J

- In Pursuit of Fome: Rembrandt Peale, 1778–1860*, by Lillian B. Miller and Carol Eaton, reviewed, 475–76  
 Ingram, John H., 60–64  
*Insurgente*, frigate, 53, 270–71  
 inventions and inventors, 62  
 iron production, 156, 162  
 Island Point, 1734, 152–60  
 Jackson, Andrew, 53  
 Jackson, David K., 60–61  
 Jackson, Gen. Thomas Jonathan, "Stonewall," 203–9  
 Jacobinism – Md., 18th century, 10  
 Jacobs, Bradford, review by, 359–60  
*James Fisher*, ship, 32  
*James Power*, schooner, 26, 30, 33  
 JANSON-LA PALME, ROBERT J. H., "A view of Chestertown from White House Farm: New Insights from Old Kent," 38–51  
 Jenifer, Benjamin, 326, 329–30, 332, 334  
*The Jewish People in America*, Henry L. Feingold, ed., reviewed, 491–96

- Jewish Times*, newspaper, 430  
*John Adams*, light frigate, 271  
 John Smith & Sons, 163  
 Johns Hopkins University, 74  
 Johnson's Island Prison, Civil War, 204  
 Johnson, Vicki Vaughn, *The Men and the Vision of the Southern Commercial Conventions*, reviewed, 481-83  
 Johnston, Betty, 468  
 Jones Falls, 18th century, 151  
 Jones, Anna, 321  
 Jones, David, 151-52, 321  
 Jones, James A., 328-30  
 Jonestown, 18th Century, 151-73  
 Jordan, David W., review by, 232-33  
 Jordan, Mrs. Lillian, 430  
 Joseph, William, 200  
 journalism, 60-69  
 Junior Service Group, 468  
*Junius Brutus Booth: Theatrical Prometheus*, by Stephen M. Archer, reviewed, 237-39

## K-L

- Kahn, Albert, 392  
 Kammen, Michael, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, reviewed, 89-94  
 Kaplon, Victor, 139  
 Karn, Charles, 139  
 Keene, Laura V., 61  
 Keene, Samuel R., 26-34  
 Keillhoz, Charles, 183  
 Kemmelmeier, Frederick, 46  
 Kemp's Addition, 165  
 Kent County Free School, 39, 42  
 Kent County, Md., 38-47  
 Kent, Gov. Joseph, 292  
 Kerr family, 182  
 King, Andrew J., review by, 247-49  
 Kingery, W. David and Steven Lubar, eds., *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, reviewed, 487-88  
 Knisley, C. C., 139  
 Know-Nothing Party, 77-81  
 Koburn, Daniel, 332  
 Kraft, Charles, 319  
 Kreider, Ammon H., 446  
*L'Arethuse*, corvette, 272  
 labor, -housing in World War II, 403-8, 454-55  
*Lady Warrington*, schooner, 26, 33  
 land -ownership of, Baltimore, 1632-1796, 151-73  
*Landmarks of Prince George's County*, The Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission, reviewed, 473-74  
 Latrobe, John H. B., 326, 332-33  
 law, -history and criticism, 286-96; practice of, 189, 204-5  
 Lawson, Alexander, 154-65  
 Lawson, Rev. Ephraim, 330  
*Leadership During the Civil War*, Roman J. Heleniak and Lawrence L. Hewitt, eds., reviewed, 483-85  
*Ledger*, newspaper, 193, 197  
 Lee, Gen. Fitzhugh, 203, 208  
 LEINER, FREDERICK C., "The Baltimore Merchants' Warships: Maryland and Patapsco in the Quasi-War with France," 261-85.  
 Lemay, J. A. Leo, *Did Pocahontas Save Captain John Smith?*, reviewed, 368-72  
 Lemay, J. A. Leo, ed., *Reappraising Benjamin Franklin: A Bicentennial Perspective*, reviewed, 374-75  
 LeRoy, Herman, 277  
 Lewis, Jacob, 329  
*Liberia Packet*, ship, 326  
 Liberia, -Maryland in, 324-36  
*The Life and Confession of George Swearingen*, (Little), 286  
 Lincoln, Abraham, 79, 83  
 Lindsly, Count Webster, 77  
 Lindson, Jonathan, 168  
 Linenthal, Edward Tabor, *Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, reviewed 89-94  
 Linneman, William R., review by, 249-50  
 literature, 60-69  
 Little, N. B., *The Life and Confession of George Swearingen*, 286  
*Living Age*, newspaper, 194-95  
 Lloyd Family, 181  
 Lloyd, Edward, VII, 181-82  
 Lord, Walter, 301  
 LOVE, RICHARD, "Brunswick's 'Blessed Curse': Surviving an Industrial Legacy," 132-149  
 Lovett, Robert, 412  
 Lubar, Steven and W. David Kingery, eds., *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, reviewed, 487-88  
 Lunn's Lot (and Point), 1777, 155-73  
 Lunn, Edward, 1688, 155, 173

## M

- Mabbott, Thomas Ollive, 60-65  
 Mackey & Sons, C. H., 183  
 Madden, T. O., Jr., *We Were Always Free: The Story of the Maddens of Virginia, A Free Negro Family*, reviewed, 243-44  
 Magruder, Peyton, 394-95  
 Maguire, Joseph C. Jr., review by, 489-90  
 Mallonee, Barbara C., Jane Karkalits Bonny and Nicholas Fessenden, *Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting of*

- Friends, Homewood and Stony Run*, reviewed, 362-64
- "MANAGING AMERICAN MEMORIES," by John Higham, 89-94
- Margaret Hugg*, bark, 27, 32
- Marshall, Gen. George C., 402
- Marshall, John, 262
- Martin family, 181-82
- Martin's Nest - Randallstown, Md., 19th century, 73, 88
- Martin, Glenn L., 389-419, 447
- Martin, James L., 183
- Martin, Rev. Luther, 1857-1922, 132
- Maryland -history -Civil War, 1860-1865, 73-88, 203-9, 337-58; -colonial period, 5-20; -Constitution of 1851, 328; -revolutionary war, 297-99; -War of 1812, 300-16
- Maryland*, steamboat, 184
- Maryland and Eastern Shore Intelligencer*, newspaper, 186
- Maryland Colonization Society, 324-36
- Maryland Institute of Art, 1861, 75
- Maryland Journal*, newspaper, 1826, 189
- Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, newspaper, 167
- Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission, *Landmarks of Prince George's County*, reviewed, 473-74
- Maryland USS*, sloop of war, 261-85
- Maryland's Eastern Shore: *A Journey in Time And Place*, by John R. Mennersten, reviewed 109-10
- "MARYLAND'S FIRST POLITICAL CONVENTION BY AND FOR ITS COLORED PEOPLE," by C. Christopher Brown, 324-36
- Marylanders Who Served the Nation: A Biographical Dictionary of Federal Officials from Maryland*, by Gerson G. Eisenberg, reviewed, 359-60
- Mason, Mrs. E. A., 183
- The Massawomeck: Raiders and Traders into the Chesapeake Bay in the Seventeenth Century*, by James F. Pendergast, reviewed, 368-72
- Mattern, David B., review by, 375-76
- McCreary, William, 264-65, 279n
- McDonnell, James S., 391-93
- McDowell, John, 264, 279n
- McElderry, Thomas, 1794, 171-72
- McKeldin, Mayor Theodore R., 426-27
- McKinley, President William, 1898, 208
- McMahon, John Van Lear, 293
- McNeill, Capt. Daniel, 270, 283n
- McWillie, Mrs., 196
- medicine, -19th century, 189
- The Men and the Vision of the Southern Commercial Conventions, 1845-1871*, by Vicki Vaughn Johnson, reviewed, 481-83
- Mencken, H. L., *My Life as Author and Editor*, Jonathan Yardley, ed., reviewed, 110-11
- merchants, 151-73
- Merrimack*, sloop of war, 274-76
- Methodism, 18th century, Md., 184-85
- Middle River Aeronautical Employees Association, 410
- Middleton, Stephen, review by, 243-44
- Miller, John Carl, 61
- Miller, Lillian B. and Carol Eaton, *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778-1860*, reviewed, 475-76
- Miller, William Lee, *The Business of May Next: James Madison and the Founding*, reviewed, 375-76
- Millington, John N., 66
- Milton*, schooner, 26
- Minor, Frank, 200
- Minor, Mary, 189-200
- Minute by Minute: A History of the Baltimore Monthly Meeting of Friends, Homewood and Stony Run*, by Barbara C. Mallonee, Jane Karkalits Bonny, and Nicholas Fessenden, reviewed, 362-64
- Moale, John, 156-65
- Moale, Richard, 156, 163
- Moller Organ Works, 448-49
- money, 189-200
- Monfrett, Edward, 153
- Montell, F. T., 26
- Montezuma USS*, ship, 271
- Montgomery County Orphans Court, 1849, 189
- Montgomery County Sentinel*, 190-91
- Montgomery County, Md., 189-200
- Moore, Mrs. Maurice, 463-64
- Morgan, Col. William M., 456
- Morgan, Philip D. and Ira Berlin, eds., *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas*, reviewed, 372-74
- Morganthau, Treas. Secy. Henry, 392, 397, 400
- Morris, William, 320
- Mount Pleasant, Talbot County, Md., 73
- Mountney's Neck, 1737, 152, 158, 167
- Mountney, Samuel, 152
- Mullen, Dick, 143-44
- "MURDER IN WESTERN MARYLAND: THE LIFE AND DEATH OF GEORGE SWEARINGEN, SHERIFF OF WASHINGTON COUNTY," by Peter H. Curtis, 286-96
- Murphy, William, 138-39
- Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture*, by Michael Kammen, reviewed, 89-94

## N

National Catholic Charities, 463

Navy Yard, Washington D.C., 305  
 Neal, Margaret, 468  
 Neale, Joseph, 270-71  
 "The Negro and the War," pamphlet, 424  
*Nereid* HMS, ship, 274-76  
 New York Central Railway, 1960, 140-41  
 Newcomer, David H., 207  
 Newstead, Cassey, 200  
 Nichols Hardware Store, 183  
 Norfolk and Western Railroad, 205  
 North, Helen, 1758, 163  
 "NOTES ON ANTEBELLUM EASTON," by  
 Harold W. Hurst, 181-88

## O

O'Donnell, John, 168, 264, 280n  
 O'Connor, Gov. Herbert, 424  
*O'Kelly*, ship, 26  
 Old Town, 151  
 Oliver, Robert, 262-67, 278n  
*Orbit*, ship, 30  
*The Original Misunderstanding: The English, the  
 Americans and the Dialectic of Federal  
 Jurisprudence*, by Stephen B. Presser,  
 reviewed, 113-15  
 OSHER, DAVID AND WALLENSTEIN, PETER,  
 "Why the Confederacy Lost: An Essay  
 Review," 95-108  
 Oulton, John, 1695, 167  
 Oxford, Md., 182

## P-Q

*Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans  
 in Colonial British America*, by A. G. Roeber,  
 reviewed, 479-81  
 Palmer, John, 404-5  
 "PARCELING OUT LAND IN THE VICINITY  
 OF BALTIMORE: 1632-1796, PART 2," by  
 Garrett Power, 151-180  
 Parker's Haven, 165  
*Patapsco* USS, sloop of war, 261-85  
 Patterson, George, 197  
 Patterson, William, 264, 278n  
 Peale, Charles Willson, 44-46  
 Peale, St. George, 44  
 Peep'-O-Day, Mary, 133-34  
 Pendergast, James F., *The Massawomeck: Raiders  
 and Traders into the Chesapeake Bay in the  
 Seventeenth Century*, reviewed, 368-72  
 Penn, William, 7  
*The Pennsylvania Barn: Its Origin, Evolution, and  
 Distribution in North America*, by Robert F.  
 Ensminger, reviewed, 235-37  
 Perkins, William, 328-30, 332

*Perry of London: A Family and a Firm on the  
 Seaborne Frontier, 1615-1753*, by Jacob M.  
 Price, reviewed, 232-33  
 Phelan, William, 468  
 Phillips, Benjamin, 274-76  
 Philpot's point, 170-71  
 physicians - 19th century, 189  
 Pinckney, Charles, 262-63  
 plantations, 19th century, 182  
 Plimhimmon Estate, 182  
 Plowman, Jonathan, 158, 167  
 Plummer, Ms. Kate, 183  
 Poe, Edgar Allan, 60-69  
 Poe, Virginia, 65  
*Political Parties and American Political Development  
 from the Age of Jackson to the Age of Lincoln*, by  
 Michael F. Holt, reviewed, 115-17  
 politics - Md., 1692-1720, 5-20; 1860-64, 75-  
 88, 186-87, 191;  
 politics - Montgomery County, Md., 1850-51,  
 189; 1860-1864, 191  
 politics - Washington County, Md., 1871-1888,  
 205; Democratic party, 205; Republican  
 party, 207-8  
*Portsmouth*, ship, 270-73, 283n  
 Poultney, William, 1671, 153  
*Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*, Helen C.  
 Rountree, ed., reviewed, 368-72  
 Presser, Stephen B., *The Original Misunderstand-  
 ing: The English, the Americans and the Dialectic  
 of Federal Jurisprudence*, reviewed, 113-15  
 Price, Jacob M., *Perry of London: A Family and a  
 Firm on the Seaborne Frontier, 1615-1753*,  
 reviewed, 232-33  
 Price, William, 261, 265, 268, 293  
 Priest, John Michael, *Before Antietam: The Battle  
 for South Mountain*, reviewed, 240-42  
 Principio Furnace (and company), 156, 162, 267  
 Pringle, Mark, 263-64, 266, 279n  
 Pritchets, A. B., 183  
 privateering, 1775-83, 162-63  
 Purviance, Samuel, 169-71  
*A Quaker Family through Six Generations:  
 Passmores in America*, by Robert Houston  
 Smith, reviewed, 111-12  
 Quakers, see Society of Friends  
 Queen Anne's County, Md., 38-43, 84, 88  
 Quinn, Arthur Hobson, 60-61

## R

Rabbitt, Tom, 195  
 Rable, George C., *Civil Wars: Women and the  
 Crisis of Southern Nationalism*, reviewed, 118-  
 19  
 race relations, 317-36, 420-43, 452-54  
 "RACE, POWER, AND MONEY IN ANTEBEL-  
 LUM BALTIMORE: MARY RIDGELY'S

- THOUSAND-DOLLAR NOTE," by Frank Towers, 317-23
- Radcliffe, George M., Sr., review by, 109-10
- railroads, 132-47
- Ramsay, John V. L., 292
- Ranger*, schooner, 274
- Ranson, Mrs. Evelyn E., 436
- rationing, World War II, 429-31
- Razaf, Andy, 422-23
- Reappraising Benjamin Franklin: A Bicentennial Perspective*, J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., reviewed, 374-75
- Reed, Paula S., review by, 235-37
- Reese, Timothy J., review by, 240-42
- REILLY, JOHN E., "Robert D'Unger and His Reminiscences of Edgar Allan Poe in Baltimore," 60-72
- Reisner, Lewis E., 446
- Religion - Md. - 18th century, 5-20; -Easton, Md., 184
- Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, by John Bodnar, reviewed, 89-94
- revitalization - rural town, 140-42
- Reynolds, Chevalier Elmer Robert, 60, 63-64
- Rice, James D., review by, 113-15
- Richards, Joy, 463
- Richey, Russel E., *Early American Methodism*, reviewed, 112-13
- Ridgely, Charles, 267
- Ridgely, James L., 79
- Ridgely, Mary, 317-22
- Ridgely, Capt. Charles, 155-61
- Ridgely's Delight, 156
- Ritchie, Mildred Handy and Mallon, Sarah Rozelle Handy, eds., *Annals and Memorials of the Handy's and Their Kindred*, reviewed, 240
- "ROBERT D'UNGER AND HIS REMINISCENCES OF EDGAR ALLEN POE IN BALTIMORE," by John E. Reilly, 60-72
- Roberts, Theodore Jr., 429
- Robinson, W. Stitt, review by, 368-72
- Rochbrune, Louis de, 261, 265
- Rocheffoucault-Liancourt, Duc de la, 41
- Rockville, Md., 1860-61, 189-200
- Rodgers, Comm. John, 267-70, 272-74, 277, 284n
- Rodney, Thomas, 27
- Roeber, A. G., *Palatines, Liberty and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America*, reviewed, 479-81
- Rogers, A. M., 319
- Rogers, Hannah, 318, 320-22
- Rogers, William, 170
- Rollo, Vera Foster, *Your Maryland: A History*, reviewed, 360-62
- Roney, Elizabeth, 320-21

- Ross, Maj. Gen. Robert, 300-16
- Ross, Mrs. Robert, 307-9, 313
- Rountree, Helen C., ed., *Powhatan Foreign Relations, 1500-1722*, reviewed, 368-72
- Rozer, Charly, 198
- Rucker, Kenneth H., review by, 366-67
- Ruffine, Margaret, 435
- Russo, Jean B., review by, 487-88
- Russworm, John Brown, 326

## S

- Sacred Ground: Americans and Their Battlefields*, by Edward Tabor Linenthal, reviewed, 89-94
- Satterfield, John, 183
- Sauser, Leona, 145-46
- Schmiegel, Karol A., review by, 475-76
- Scott, Mary, 287
- Sears, George, 264
- Self, Sir Henry, 398
- Semmes, Frances B., 429
- SHADEL, DANA, "Henry Kyd Douglas: Reconstructed Rebel," 203-9
- SHANK, CHRISTOPHER, "Wings Over Hagerstown: Experiencing the Second World War in Western Maryland," 444-61
- Sharpsburg, battle of, 203
- Shaw house, 19th century, 312
- Shepherdstown, W. Va., 204
- Sheredine, Thomas, 154-58
- ships and shipping - Baltimore, 1632-1796, 151-73; 1799-1802, 261-85; 1823-1856, 26-34; 1829-1831, 53-59
- Shipyard at Gray's Inn Creek*, 46
- Shreve, Jack, review by, 237-39
- SHUGG, WALLACE, "With a Schoolmaster Aboard the U.S. Frigate *Constellation*, 1829-1831," 53-59
- Silverman, Kenneth, 60-61
- Simpson, Brooks D., review by, 483-85
- Sinclair, Cyrus, 326
- Sioussa, Jean Pierre, 306, 315n
- Sirene, La*, frigate, 272
- Skinner, John Stuart, 307, 313, 315-16n
- slave trade, 274
- slave traders, 183
- slavery - Bahamas, 1840-1845, 27; - Md., 1860-65, 73-88, 191-200; - uprising, 195
- Sligh, Thomas, 155-67
- Smith, Capt. Harry, 305, 309
- Smith, Gen. Samuel, 264, 267-68, 280n
- Smith, John David, review by, 246-47
- Smith, Leonard, 134
- Smith, Maria Louisa, 61
- Smith, Nathaniel, 171
- Smith, Rev. William, 44

- Smith, Robert Houston, *A Quaker Family through Six Generations: Passmores in America*, reviewed, 111-12
- Smith, Robert, 276-77
- Smith, Samuel, 162-71
- Smith, Thorowgood, 263, 278n
- Smith, William, 38, 41-42
- Sneidiker, Quentin and Jensen, Ann, *Chesapeake Bay Schooners*, reviewed, 234-35
- Society of Friends - Md., 5-20, 184-85
- Somers, Henry, 195
- Sommerville, Diane Miller, review by, 118-19
- Spear, William, 169
- Spencer family, 73, 181
- Spencer, Edward, 73-88, 337-58
- The Spirit of American Folk Art: The Girard Collection at the Museum of International Folk Art*, by Henry Glassie, reviewed, 485-86
- Sprigg, Margaret, 264-65, 279n
- St. James Episcopal Church, 326
- St. Mary's City, Md., 8-9
- St. Michael's Episcopal Church - Talbot County, Md., 73
- Stake, Edward, 208
- Stansbury Estates, Inc., 393
- State of Prisons and Child-Saving Institutions in the Civilized World*, by Enoch Cobb Wines, 58
- Steiger, Andrew, 164-65
- Stepney, see White House Farm
- Sterett, James, 1771, 171
- Stewart, David, 264-65, 278
- Stimson, Secy. of War Henry, 407
- Stodder, David, 266
- Stoddert, Benjamin, 265, 267-74, 276-77, 281n
- Stokes, Darius, 324, 326, 328, 330, 336
- Strakonsky, Frank, 147
- Strandberg, Henry J., 186
- Strawberry Point, 393
- Stricker, John, 264-65, 276, 278n
- Stuart, Maj. Gen. J. E. B., 203
- "Super American," -poem, 422-23
- Swan, John, 264, 279n
- Swearingen, George, 286-96
- Swearingen, John V., 286
- Swearingen, Mary, 287-88, 290-94

## T

- Talbot County, Md., 181-87
- Taney, Augustus, 189
- tariff issue, 208
- Taylor, William, 276
- The 1693 Census of Swedes on the Delaware: Family Histories of the Swedish Lutheran Church Members Residing in Pennsylvania, Delaware, West New Jersey and Cecil County, Maryland, 1638-1693*, by Peter Stebbins Craig, reviewed, 364-65

- "THE APPROACH OF THE CIVIL WAR AS SEEN IN THE LETTERS OF JAMES AND MARY ANDERSON OF ROCKVILLE," George M. Anderson, S.J., ed., 189-202
- "FAMILY PAPERS OF MAJ. GEN. ROBERT ROSS, THE DIARY OF COL. ARTHUR BROOKE, AND THE BRITISH ATTACKS ON WASHINGTON AND BALTIMORE OF 1814," by Christopher T. George, 300-16
- Theiblot, Armand, 446-47
- Thomas, Dwight, 60-61
- Thompson and Kersey, 183
- Tilghman family, 181-82, 297-99
- "THE TILGHMAN PAPERS," by Jennifer A. Bryan, 297-99
- Tilghman, Dr. Richard, 39
- Tilghman, Gen. Tench, 182, 186
- Timberneck, 155-56, 165
- The Titan*, Theodore Dreiser, 62
- Todd House, 19th century, 312
- Todd, James, 151-57
- Tonnant* HMS, ship, 302, 305, 312
- TOWERS, FRANK, "Race, Power, and Money in Antebellum Baltimore: Mary Ridgely's Thousand-Dollar Note," 317-23
- trade 26-34
- trade unions, -World War II, 409-10, 450
- Triumph Industries, 456-58
- Truxtun, Capt. Thomas, 267, 273, 276-77
- Tufts, Turell, 270, 272
- Tupper*, F. A., ship, 26, 33
- Turnbull, Douglas, 138

## U-V

- U.S. Dept. of Transportation, 1971, 143-44
- U.S. Treasury Dept., 189-200
- Union Hotel, 184
- Upton Court, 156, 163
- Vallombrosa plantation, 189
- Vengeance*, frigate, 53
- Victoire*, brig, 61
- "A VIEW OF CHESTERTOWN FROM WHITE HOUSE FARM: NEW INSIGHTS FROM OLD KENT," by Robert J. H. Janson-La Palme, 38-51
- Vinson & Hardy, 183
- Virginia, -Civil War, 191, 204; University of, 60
- Vogel, Robert M., review by, 476-79
- "WACES OF WAR: THE SHIFTING LANDSCAPE OF RACE AND GENDER IN WORLD WAR II BALTIMORE," by Amy Bentley, 420-43

## W

- Walker, John H., 326, 328, 330-32
- Walker, Perry E., 329

- Wallace, Lorraine and Alloa Anderson, *Genealogical Research in Libraries*, reviewed, 489-90
- WALLENSTEIN, PETER AND OSHER, DAVID, "Why the Confederacy Lost: An Essay Review," 95-108
- Wallenstein, Peter, review by, 244-45
- Walther, Eric H., *The Fire-Eaters*, reviewed, 244-45
- WANZER, SIDNEY HOVEY AND AGLE, ANNA BRADFORD, eds., "Dearest Braddie: Love and War in Maryland, 1860-61, Part 1," 73-88
- Ward, J. Carleton, 451
- warships, Maryland-built, 261-85
- Washington College, Md., 38-47
- Washington County Confederate Cemetery, Md., 203-8
- Washington County, Md., 203-5; -economic history, 444-61; -moral conditions, 286-96
- Washington, D.C. -history -War of 1812, 300-16
- Washington, George, 163
- We Were Always Free: The Story of the Maddens of Virginia, A Free Negro Family*, by T. O. Madden, Jr., reviewed, 243-44
- Webb, Rev. Harrison H., 326, 328-29
- Webster, Henry, 319-20
- Weekly Times*, newspaper, 1877, 209
- Weinberg, Robert L., review by, 491-96
- Weisel, Judge, Charlestown, W. Va., 204
- Wennersten, John R., *Maryland's Eastern Shore: A Journey in Time And Place*, reviewed, 109-10
- Wernel, Harriet, 317, 320-21
- Wheeler, Ann, 152
- Whetstone Point, 156, 162
- White House Farm - Kent County, Md., 1748-1803, 39-47
- White, Roy, 138
- Whitman, Steve, review by, 372-74
- "WHY THE CONFEDERACY LOST: AN ESSAY REVIEW," by David Osher and Peter Wallenstein, 95-108
- Why the Confederacy Lost*, Gabor S. Boritt, ed., reviewed, 95-108
- Wilkinson, Brig. Gen. James, 271
- Wilkinson, Rev. Christopher, 7
- Will, Raymond, 145
- Williams, T. J. C., 207
- Williams, William, 329
- Williamson, Charles, 330, 333-34
- Wills, John, 67
- Wilmer family, 39
- Wilmer, Rev. James Jones, 43
- Wilmer, Rev. Richard Hooker, 38
- Wilmer, Simon, 39-44
- Wilson Point, 393, 404
- Wilson, Renate, review by, 479-81
- Winchester, Va., 1865-67, 204
- Wines, Enoch Cobb, 53
- "WINGS OVER HAGERSTOWN: EXPERIENCING THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN WESTERN MARYLAND," by Christopher Shank, 444-61
- Wirt, Atty. Gen. William, 189
- "WITH A SCHOOLMASTER ABOARD THE U.S. FRIGATE *CONSTELLATION*, 1829-1831," by Wallace Shugg, 53-59
- Wollaston, Thomas P., 184
- women, Md., 18th century, 14-15; 19th century, 73-88, 183; 20th century, 408-9, 420-43, 451
- World War I, 135
- World War II, 136, 139; -manpower, 392-93, 408-10, 420-43, 449-54; rationing in, 429-31; -war work, Negro YMCA, 426, 430; Negro YWCA, 430; USO, 462-72 -YMCA, 426, 463-72; -YWCA, 426, 463-72; -YWHA, 463
- Worrell, Edward, 43
- Wye House, 181

## X-Y-Z

- Yarbrough, Bruce, 468
- Yardley, Jonathan, ed., *H. L. Mencken, My Life as Author and Editor*, reviewed, 110-11
- Yates, Dean K., *Forged by Fire: Maryland's National Guard at the Great Baltimore Fire of 1904*, reviewed, 365-66
- Yates, Thomas, 170-71
- Yeiser, Englehart, 1786, 164
- Yellott, Jeremiah, 264-65, 267-68, 278n
- yellow fever, 1796, 173
- Your Maryland: A History*, by Vera Foster Rollo, reviewed, 360-62
- Zimmerman, Jonathan, review by, 115-17





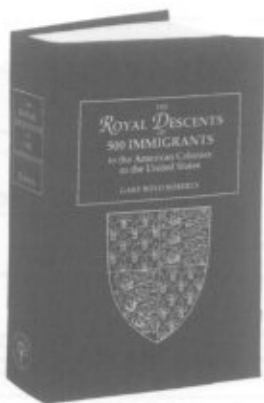
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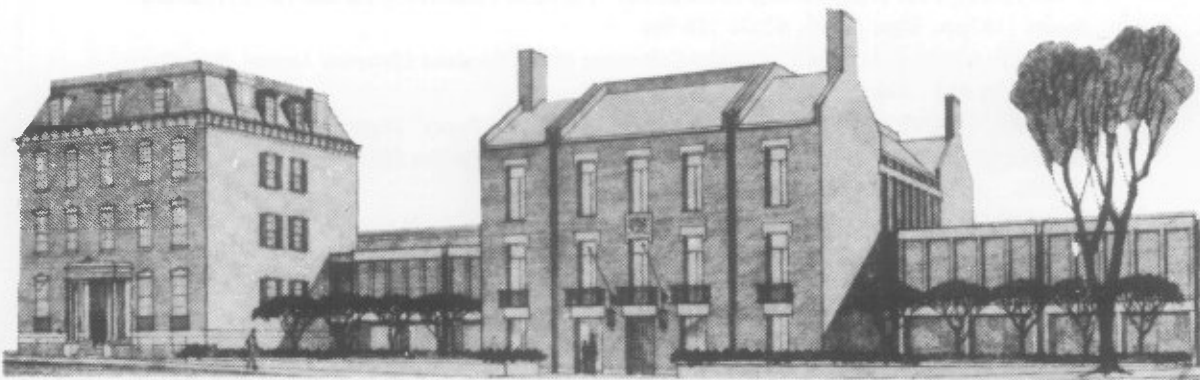
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